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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Fifty Years of Progress in International Law

by Herman Phleger
Legal Adviser¹

There is a special significance in this regional meeting of the American Society of International Law. It was in this city, and at the New York Bar Association, that the Society was organized on January 12, 1906.

This is therefore the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Society.

Birthdays are not only times for celebration; they are also times for appraisal.

In this case the appraisal might be of two kinds: one as to how well the Society has achieved the objectives of its founding; the other as to what progress has been made in the field of international law during the life of the Society.

I know we will all agree that the Society is to be congratulated on its achievements during its first 50 years. Having in mind the aphorism that the first 50 years are the hardest, I know that the Society can confidently look forward to an ever-increasing contribution in its chosen fields.

Progress in International Law

What has been the progress of international law during the past 50 years? My comment must be brief and general.

I recall some years ago hearing Sir Norman Birkett observe that in an early edition of *Anson on Contracts* the illustration given of contracts void because of impossibility of performance was "as though one were to undertake to fly the Atlantic."

¹ Address made before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York at a regional meeting celebrating the 50th anniversary of the American Society of International Law at New York, N.Y., on Apr. 9 (press release 178 dated Apr. 6).

I have myself seen in a 1919 edition of *Anson* the illustration given thus:

Suppose the defendant had promised to pay 100 pounds, but only on condition that X shall reach the moon. Here the act to be performed by the defendant is quite possible, but the act to be performed by X is not. Here no duty or liability is created.

By the passage of a short span of years the impossible has become possible.

A promise to reach the moon replacing an undertaking to fly the Atlantic, as an example of a promise impossible to perform, will no doubt in turn give way to a new example.

This progression does not represent progress in law but progress in science. The legal principle has remained the same. Only the application of the principle has changed with the changing times.

But there are legal principles which do change, and the last 50 years have witnessed a fundamental change in one principle of international law that affects us all.

Fifty years ago war was accepted as a legitimate instrument of national policy. Learned writers asserted its legality. Collective efforts were largely devoted to ameliorating the harsh conditions of war—agreeing on the rules of the game, so to speak. The Hague Conventions and the later Geneva Conventions regulating the treatment of prisoners of war represented efforts to make war endurable, since its abolition seemed impossible.

But two world wars and the harnessing of nuclear energy have progressively convinced the world of the necessity for providing an effective means of preventing aggressive war. The attempt to reach this objective has resulted in the establishing of a new principle of international

law and the taking of steps to implement that principle.

The new legal principle is that aggressive war is illegal. The implementation has taken various forms: the League of Nations, the United Nations, and tribunals to apply and administer international law, to name the more obvious.

Aggressive War Becomes Illegal

The experience of World War I resulted in the League of Nations and its principle of collective security with its objective "to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security." It was intended to replace the system of the balance of power by a system of collective responsibility for the future peace.

In the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 the parties condemned recourse to war and renounced it as an instrument of national policy. They agreed not to seek to settle conflicts by any but pacific means. Sixty-five nations have ratified this treaty, and it is in force today.

From the standpoint of international law this treaty was a revolutionary development. At face value it was the agreement of the world community that aggressive war would be a breach of solemn treaty obligations.

Yet 10 years later World War II was under way.

I cannot refrain from quoting the following from Senator [George Wharton] Pepper's admirable autobiography. He wrote, speaking of the spring of 1928:

During our brief sojourn in Paris, the Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed at the French Foreign Office in an atmosphere of optimism. Mrs. Pepper and I were guests at the Embassy at a brilliant dinner given by Ambassador Herrick to Ambassador Kellogg. My incurable lack of faith in international promises made me less enthusiastic than the rest of the company. They felt, or pretended to feel, that war had at last received its death warrant.

Then came the Second World War and—from its ashes—the United Nations. By its charter its members agree to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

I think it can be fairly said that the charter confirmed the fact that the principle accepted in 1900 that war was a legitimate instrument of national policy had been replaced by the principle that aggressive war is illegal under international law.

This was a fundamental change in international law, and it has taken place during the 50-year existence of this Society.

But those years have witnessed more than a fundamental change in a principle of international law. They have also witnessed persistent attempts to provide the means of carrying that principle into effect.

These attempts have taken, in general, two forms. One, to provide a system of collective security with sanctions against an aggressor. The other consisted of an attempt to provide a system of international tribunals available for the adjudication and settlement of disputes between states.

In addition international tribunals were established for the trial of war criminals. I refer to the Nuremberg tribunal established in 1945 by the agreement of 23 nations and to the international tribunal for the trial of Japanese war criminals.

Modern developments in warfare and the atom bomb have made clear how ineffective as a deterrent to war is the postwar punishment of individuals. Indeed, if we were to have another world war, there would be few left to act as judges, even if there were enough vanquished still alive to stand in the dock.

This emphasizes the necessity of settling differences peacefully when they arise, so they will not develop into controversies which nations believe can only be honorably settled by war, and the necessity of having machinery to settle such disputes.

Adjudication of International Disputes

But machinery is not enough, just as treaties renouncing war were not enough. If we are to settle international disputes by peaceful means, we must not only have the machinery to settle them, but states must use this machinery.

That there now exist fully adequate and available means for settlement of disputes by these means is obvious.

For a half century we have had the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

The United Nations Charter, in chapter VI, offers an array of remedies, through the Security Council and the General Assembly, for states involved in disputes or situations whose continuance is likely to endanger international peace.

Commencing in 1921 with the Permanent Court of International Justice, succeeded in 1945 by the International Court of Justice, a court has been available for the adjudication of disputes between states. Some 33 states, including the United States, have now accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of that Court.

In addition, there has been available traditional *ad hoc* arbitration which has served so well over the years to resolve disputes between nations.

Reluctance of States To Adjudicate Disputes

With this wealth of machinery for the settlement of international disputes, I would like to report that their utilization is customary and a matter of course. But the contrary appears to be the case. There seems to be a natural reluctance on the part of foreign offices to submit differences to judicial examination and adjudication, or to arbitration.

In 1937 John Bassett Moore wrote:

In spite of all suppositions and postprandial boasts to the contrary, it is a fact that nations have not during the past half century shown an increasing disposition to submit to judicial determination disputes involving what they conceive to be their important interests.

Today, almost 20 years later, the same observation could be made with equal truth. In the past 2 years the United States has filed four applications with the Recorder of the International Court of Justice, one against Hungary,² one against Czechoslovakia,³ and two against Soviet Russia,⁴ arising out of the shooting down of planes. In each instance the respondent government has refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court.⁵

In another instance, where the United States proposed resort to the Court, it was met with the suggestion that friends should not litigate their differences but should compose them. A sound philosophy, but there has been no composition and none seems likely.

I would suggest that if we wish to establish the rule of law we must not only have the law, which we do have, but we must also establish the habit and custom of being willing to be bound by it according to the judgment of an independent tribunal. What good does it do to say we agree

with the law and then refuse to submit our differences to impartial adjudication of the facts and the agreed law?

Much has been done in this field, but much more could be and must be done if the adjudication of international disputes is to make a significant contribution to our goal of international peace and the rule of law.

U.S.-U.K. Record of Submissions

Our guest of this evening [Sir Lionel Frederick Heald, M. P., former Attorney-General of the United Kingdom] comes from a nation that has a long and distinguished record of submission to arbitration and adjudication in the international field.

The arbitration of the Alabama Claims in 1872 is a landmark in this field. It was followed by the arbitration of the Venezuela dispute in 1904 and then by the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration in 1910.

The docket of the International Court of Justice records that the United Kingdom has been a party to more proceedings there than any other state. It has had 13 contentious cases before the present Court and its predecessor. It has participated in 12 of the advisory-opinion proceedings before these two Courts. It has had 7 cases before tribunals of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

I might at the same time note that the United States has been a party to 6 contentious proceedings before the present World Court, has participated in all 10 of the advisory-opinion proceedings there, and has had 6 cases before tribunals of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

That the United States and the United Kingdom have been disposed to engage in a relatively sizable volume of international litigation does not mean that our two countries are contentious by nature. It is simply indicative of a belief that differences should be dealt with on their merits. Where differences on legal questions have resisted settlement by discussion, we have preferred to have them decided by impartial arbiters.

This has not been the practice in the conduct of foreign affairs by many governments. Unsettled disputes have not been referred to an international tribunal for decision and have been allowed to trouble the relations of the parties for an indefinite length of time. The rule of law

² BULLETIN of Mar. 22, 1954, p. 449.

³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1955, p. 648.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 22, 1954, p. 449, and July 11, 1955, p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1954, p. 130, and Mar. 26, 1956, p. 513.

will not be established so long as governments insist on "waging their law" through economic, political, and other pressures, and are unwilling to submit to impartial adjudication.

I believe it can be fairly said that relations between our country and the United Kingdom have long been conducted on the basis of law and justice. This happy tradition has certainly been favored by the ties of history and language, by the heritage of our legal system, and by a common disposition to view situations on their merits and find practical solutions to difficulties. Our two countries have been associated for common ends in war and in peace. Today they are working together in many areas to preserve peace and advance the realization of human values.

Problems of the Future

We cannot honestly be satisfied that the United Nations system as it operates today creates a working regime of law throughout the world. But the present organization of the international community must, of course, be appraised as a stage in development and not as a final condition to be accepted or rejected.

The problem of keeping international peace is currently being approached from the direction of control over armaments and control over national military capabilities in such a way that no nation will feel it desirable to embark on aggressive adventures.

The task of raising worldwide levels of economic development and standards of living is being pursued today in various cooperative international enterprises, soon to be increased by the addition of a new one—the International Atomic Energy Agency.

As we look ahead, the next 50 years promise no diminution of difficult problems to cope with. Doubtless some that most concern us now will have disappeared or receded in importance by the end of another half century. New problems are likely to come to the forefront. The achievements of science and technology constantly demand a redoubling of effort in politics and law to avoid a fatal lagging behind. There can already be discerned future problems in means of subsistence for the earth's growing population and in the development of exploration and travel beyond presently known terrestrial limits.

The world will have increasing need for wider

understanding of international relationships and for intelligent designs to promote general well-being. This Society and its counterparts the world over will not want for ample opportunities of useful employment.

Conversations With Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs

Following are the texts of statements made at Washington on the arrival of Alberto Martin Artajo, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, on April 9 and of a communique issued on April 12 at the conclusion of his talks with Secretary Dulles.

WELCOME AT NATIONAL AIRPORT

Press release 185 dated April 9

Statement by Secretary Dulles

Mr. Minister, it is indeed a very great pleasure to welcome you here with your wife and the other members of your party. The last time that I saw you was in Madrid about 6 months ago [November 1, 1955], and I shall never forget the great cordiality of the welcome which I received there from the Head of your State, General Franco, and from yourself and the other Ministers and from the people of Madrid, who made known their cordial reception of me.

I asked then that you should, if possible, come to visit us, and I am delighted indeed that that hope of mine has now come to pass. I think that perhaps my visit to Madrid did a little something to evidence the esteem in which the American people hold the great nation of Spain. I believe that your visit here, Mr. Minister, you, your wife and daughter, and the other members of your party, will enable us still further to build the type of friendship and good relations which now exist so happily between our two countries.

We welcome you here and we are glad you will see something of our country. And we are confident that out of this trip will come further good will between us.

Response by Spanish Foreign Minister

The last time I was in America was when I was a young man and I came to visit Washington and

New York with the International Congress of Students.

Today I come to return the visit to Madrid of Secretary of State Dulles, who has proven how much can be accomplished when diplomats sit down face to face and talk plainly.

Friendship between the American and Spanish peoples increases as personal knowledge increases, and that is one of the reasons why I have come to you.

I think this friendship between Spain and America is important. As you know, we signed agreements in the fall of 1953. I would like to examine with members of your Government their application so far, and also to discuss various aspects of world problems which affect our two nations.

And now, to work!

TEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Press release 193 dated April 12

During the official visit to Washington of Señor Don Alberto Martin Artajo, the Foreign Minister of Spain, conversations were held between him and the Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, and other officials of the United States Government. These talks were on matters of specific mutual interest to both countries as well as on questions of general interest to their respective foreign policies, including the situation in the Near East.

The conversations, which were conducted in an atmosphere of understanding and cordiality, have rendered a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the ties of friendship and cooperation that happily already exist between the two countries. Among other topics, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reviewed the results of the mutual defense and economic aid agreements signed between Spain and the United States on September 26, 1953. They noted with satisfaction the progress made in implementing these agreements, which constitute a significant contribution to western security. The Minister also reviewed for the Secretary's information the recent negotiations in Madrid between the Spanish Government and that of the Sultan of Morocco. The Secretary of State expressed his satisfaction with Spanish recognition of the unity and independence of Morocco.

April 23, 1956

Spanish-Moroccan Declaration

Press release 186 dated April 10

Department Announcement

On April 7, 1956, the Foreign Minister of Spain and the Prime Minister of Morocco signed a joint declaration which recognized the independence and unity of Morocco and defined the basis for future relations between the two countries.

The U.S. Government has instructed its representatives in Spain and Morocco to express our sincere congratulations for the success of the recent negotiations and our hope for an era of fruitful collaboration between the two nations.

Message to Acting Foreign Minister of Spain¹

My Government desires to express its congratulations to your Government on the occasion of the signing April 7 of a joint declaration which recognizes the independence and the unity of Morocco. It is gratifying to pay tribute to the realism and statesmanship which has made possible a new era of collaboration between the two nations.

Message to Sultan of Morocco²

I have been instructed to convey to His Majesty the Sultan, to the members of his Government and to the Moroccan people my Government's congratulations on the successful conclusion of negotiations with the Spanish Government and to express the hope for an era of fruitful collaboration between the two nations.

Text of Declaration³

[Unofficial translation]

The Spanish Government and His Imperial Majesty Mohammed V, Sultan of Morocco, in the desire of establishing an especially friendly relationship, on a basis of reciprocity; of strengthening their relations of secular friendship and of consolidating peace in the area in which their respective countries are located, have agreed to make public the following declaration:

1. The Spanish Government and His Imperial Majesty Mohammed V, Sultan of Morocco, considering that the

¹ Delivered by the American Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid on Apr. 10.

² Transmitted to His Cherifian Majesty Mohammed V on Apr. 10 in the name of the U.S. diplomatic agent in Morocco.

³ Signed at Madrid on Apr. 7 by Foreign Minister Alberto Martin Artajo of Spain and Premier Embarek Bekkal of Morocco.

regime established in Morocco in 1912 does not correspond to present reality, declare that the agreement signed in Madrid on November 27, 1912, cannot determine Hispano-Moroccan relations in the future.

2. In consequence, the Spanish Government recognizes the independence of Morocco, proclaimed by His Imperial Majesty Sultan Mohammed V, and its full sovereignty, together with all the attributes of the same, including its own diplomatic service and army; reiterates its wish to respect the territorial unity of the Empire, which is guaranteed by international treaties; and undertakes to take the necessary measures to effectuate it. Moreover, the Spanish Government undertakes to lend to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan the aid and assistance which will be determined as necessary by common agreement, especially with regard to foreign relations and to defense.

3. The negotiations entered upon in Madrid between the Spanish Government and His Imperial Majesty Mohammed V have as their objective the conclusion of new agreements between two sovereign and equal parties, with the purposes of defining their free cooperation in the field of their common interests. These agreements will also guarantee, in keeping with the above-mentioned particularly friendly spirit, the freedoms and rights of the Spaniards residing in Morocco and of the Moroccans residing in Spain, in the private, economic, cultural and social domains, on a basis of reciprocity and of respect for their respective sovereignties.

4. The Spanish Government and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan agree that, until the above-mentioned agreements come into effect, relations between Spain and Morocco will be determined by the additional protocol to the present declaration.

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL

1. The legislative power is exercised in sovereign manner by His Majesty the Sultan. The representative of Spain in Rabat will be advised of all proposed *dahirs* and decrees which affect Spanish interests and may make appropriate observations.

2. The powers exercised up to now by the Spanish authorities in Morocco will be transferred to the Moroccan Government, in accordance with the modalities which are fixed by common agreement. The prerogatives of Spanish officials in Morocco will be preserved.

3. The Spanish Government will lend its assistance to the Moroccan Government toward the organization of its own army. The present status of the Spanish Army in Morocco will be preserved during the period of transition.

4. The present status of the peseta will not be altered until the conclusion of a new agreement on this matter.

5. As of the time of the present declaration, visas and all administrative formalities required up to now for the travel of persons from one zone to the other will be eliminated.

6. The Spanish Government will continue to assume the protection abroad of the interests of Moroccans native to the zone formerly defined by the agreement of November 27, 1912, and residing abroad, until such time as the Government of His Majesty the Sultan assumes this responsibility.

U.S. Policy in Middle East

*Statement by James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary to the President*

White House Office (Augusta, Ga.) press release dated April 9

Before leaving the White House, the President met with the Secretary of State for a discussion of repeated incidents of hostility in the Middle East.

The President and the Secretary of State regard the situation with the utmost seriousness.

In their discussions concerning the area, they are guided by fundamental principles of United States foreign policy which are designed to promote and strengthen world peace. Therefore:

1. The United States will support in fullest measure the mission of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the area pursuant to the unanimous action of the Security Council,¹ the body on which all the members of the United Nations have conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The United States trusts that all United Nations member countries, including particularly the states directly involved, will similarly support that mission of peace.

2. The United States, in accordance with its responsibilities under the charter of the United Nations, will observe its commitments within constitutional means to oppose any aggression in the area.

3. The United States is likewise determined to support and assist any nation which might be subjected to such aggression. The United States is confident that other nations will act similarly in the cause of peace.

NATO Atomic Information Agreement Enters Into Force

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced at Paris on April 10 that the NATO Agreement for Cooperation Regarding Atomic Information went into force on March 29, 1956, with the completion of notifications by all NATO governments that they were bound by the terms of the agreement. The agreement, signed at Paris on June 22, 1955, by representatives of the NATO nations, provides that the United States and other NATO members may make various categories of atomic information available to the organization.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 16, 1956, p. 627.

A Report on Germany

by James B. Conant

*Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany*¹

The title of my remarks is "A Report on Germany." That may sound as if I proposed to deliver a lecture on the history of the nation to which I am accredited as Ambassador of the United States; and since college presidents are not noted for the brevity of their remarks you may conclude you are in for at least an hour's session. But have no fear. What I have to say can be said in less than 30 minutes for I propose to consider primarily the present situation and the problems which we and the German people face together. To this audience, so well informed on world affairs, it is unnecessary to describe in detail the developments of the last 10 years which have resulted in the Germany of today.

I have said, the Germany of today. Yet it would have been more accurate to say, the *three* Germanys of today. For there is first of all the Federal Republic of Germany, a sovereign nation of 50 million, with which we are allied as members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the territory of this Federal Republic comprises what were once the American, British, and French zones of occupation. The second part of Germany is the part that lies to the east of the frontier which separates the Soviet zone of occupation from the Federal Republic of Germany. Within this area lies the Soviet zone of occupation, a land where some 17 million Germans are ruled by the Communist puppet regime set up by the Soviet authorities; this is the land of tyranny, whereas the Federal Republic of Germany is the land of freedom. And then there is Berlin, that city with which we Americans have had such close relations since the days of the blockade, a city which itself

is divided between the three Western sectors—the American, the British, and the French—still in occupation status but nevertheless governed by a freely elected German Government, and the East sector controlled, like the zone, by the Russians through their henchmen.

I could devote a very long speech indeed to the history of the Federal Republic of Germany; yet this history is very short. The Federal Republic itself is less than 7 years old; its sovereignty dates only from last May. The phenomenal industrial recovery of this part of Germany is well known; so too is the remarkably rapid rebuilding of the cities. What is less well known, perhaps, are the steps by which a stable representative system of government has evolved. Separate states with freely elected legislatures were created in the zones of the three Western powers. Then in 1948 delegates from the states met to draft a constitution, or Basic Law, for the federal system. This Basic Law, approved by the three Western occupying powers, was then adopted by the state legislatures in 1949. That summer the first national parliament, or Bundestag, was elected, which in turn elected Konrad Adenauer as Chancellor. He was reelected 4 years later by the second Bundestag, which came into being following the second national election. The third national election, by the way, will be held in the summer of 1957, and this future event is already casting its shadow over German politics. Parliamentary democracy in the federal government and the states has provided a stable political framework within which a free competitive economy has flourished and the basic rights of citizens have been protected. Whatever may be the currents and crosscurrents of German internal politics in the coming years, I have no worry that the framework will be endangered.

¹Address made before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council on Mar. 28.

Last May, you will recall, the Federal Republic of Germany, when it became a sovereign nation, joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In so doing it undertook the responsibility of sharing with the other members, including the United States, the burden of defending Europe. To fulfill this responsibility an armed force is in process of formation. The process has been slower than many imagined it would be 18 months ago when the treaties were signed in Paris. But it is well to remember that the Germans had to start the building of their armed forces completely anew. There was no vestige of the old German Army, Navy, or Air Force left after the surrender; furthermore, for the first few postwar years few, if any, thought of rearming Germany. Quite the contrary. Indeed, the opposition party in the Bundestag (the Social Democrats) questioned the legality of a military force even as part of a European army; only in 1954 was the Basic Law amended so as to clarify this point. (An amendment of the Basic Law requires a two-thirds vote of the Bundestag as well as the upper house, the Bundesrat, where the states are represented.) Within the past month the Government and the opposition have agreed on certain further amendments to the Basic Law which will provide the legal basis for the German armed forces and insure that the ultimate control is in civilian hands. These amendments have just been adopted. In this task of drafting the necessary laws almost all political leaders have had the same ideal in mind: They have wanted to create a military establishment very different from those of the past; they desire that the new army, navy, and air force shall be firmly under the control of a parliamentary government.

We, the United States and the Federal Republic, are now partners on an equal basis; we partake in the defense of Europe and indeed the Atlantic community. This means we share military and economic problems; we must each do our part in keeping the free world sturdy and healthy and ever on the alert. This is no easy undertaking, and differences of opinion among allies are proverbial, but the NATO organization has already proved its ability to reconcile conflicting views. The same procedures can be used, if needed, to make any adjustments required when a year from now numbers of German youth begin to stand side by side with American, British, French, and other soldiers of the Atlantic community in the defense of Europe. So I shall not report further

on our common problems as members of NATO but rather direct your attention to our common problems that exist because of the division of Germany and the position of Berlin.

German Reunification

As President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles have said on more than one occasion, there can be no hope for lasting peace and security in Europe until a reunification of Germany is achieved. This same point of view has been repeatedly emphasized likewise by the heads of the British and the French Governments. It is hardly necessary to state that reunification is the number-one goal of all the inhabitants of Germany, whether they be in the Federal Republic of Germany or in the Soviet Zone itself. To be sure, in making this statement I must add that a small percentage of the East Zone inhabitants who are convinced Communists or who have thrown in their lot irrevocably with the Soviet authorities envisage a reunification of Germany in terms quite different than do the vast majority of their countrymen. These Soviet agents would like a reunified Germany which in fact would be another Soviet satellite state.

To interpret properly the present attitude of the Russians toward reunification, one must bear in mind their policy of supporting the satellite regime in the Soviet Zone. Their immediate goal appears to be to force the recognition by the free world, in law or in fact, of the legitimacy of their so-called German Democratic Republic, which at present has standing only among Russia's satellite nations. The Communist regime, completely subservient to the Soviets, claims to represent the inhabitants. But, as everyone knows, the so-called elections by which this government was put in power were travesties of free elections. What the unfortunate Germans who must suffer under the tyranny of this communistic rule really think of their German rulers was evidenced by the uprising of June 17, 1953. This spontaneous protest, starting in East Berlin, was ruthlessly put down by Russian tanks and soldiers, but there is every reason to believe that the spirit is by no means dead. When free elections are held in the Soviet Zone, you may be certain that the Communist Party and its allies will receive not more than a very small fraction of the votes. I say, when free elections are held, for such free elections of an all-German government are the first necessary step to

reunification. This is the firm position of the three Western powers and the Federal Government. But I shall return to this subject in a moment. Let me ask you to direct your attention to Berlin.

Ever since the blockade, the people of Berlin and the people of the United States have been partners in their resistance to Soviet aggression. The successful breaking of the blockade was due to the brave stand of the Berliners and the effectiveness of the American Air Force aided by our British and French allies. This was accomplished, you remember, in '48 and '49. The Soviets then solemnly agreed that access to the city should be unhampered, and for the last 7 years traffic between free Germany and free Berlin by means of rail, water, and road has been relatively unhindered. But within the last year the Russians claim to have transferred to their puppet regime, the so-called German Democratic Republic, all control and jurisdiction over traffic to Berlin. This claim has been strongly rejected by our Government, the British, and the French. We have pointed out on more than one occasion that the Soviet Government cannot in this fashion escape responsibility for carrying out the solemn undertakings which they themselves have entered into. Therefore we shall continue to hold the Soviets to their promise. We shall insist that there be no hindrance to the flow of goods and people from free Germany to Berlin.

Not only have the Soviets claimed they could and would transfer to their German agents their authority over the roads to Berlin, but they have made a similar claim as to the Soviet sector of Berlin itself. Here again their international obligations are quite clear: free circulation throughout all the sectors of Berlin was a firm agreement when Berlin was first occupied by the Four Powers. That the Soviets see to it that this continues is a matter on which the three Western powers insist.

Unique Position of Berlin

I am glad to report that, in spite of its strange position, a unique position I might say, of being an island of freedom in a sea of tyranny, free Berlin—that is, West Berlin—has prospered since the days of the blockade. Thanks in no small measure to American initiative and American aid, industries have expanded, trade has increased, unem-

ployment has steadily diminished. The spirit of the Berliners continues bold and confident. Those who can freely express their opinion, the 2 million in West Berlin, are quick to demonstrate their realization of what Communist tyranny really means. One has only to cross the sector border into East Berlin to see communism at work, and it is a most depressing and disquieting spectacle, I can assure you. Indeed, I have often said that Berlin was a city that should be visited by any who had illusions about what communism is in fact. A short visit to Berlin would demonstrate to all but convinced members of the party that the Soviet system is a system of brutal suppression of freedom, a police state based on fear.

In Berlin one can readily compare the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the two parts of the world which are divided by the Iron Curtain. In this city the curtain is transparent. And this is one of the reasons why Berlin is so important. Here at least some of the unfortunate Germans who live under the Communist dictatorship can view an example of the world of freedom. From here, uncensored news flows through the American radio station RIAS to the inhabitants of the zone, most of whom can listen, in spite of Soviet attempts at jamming. The Iron Curtain between the zone and the Federal Republic, on the other hand, is not transparent. There are only four border crossing-points; everywhere else armed guards, barbed wire, plowed strips separate the enslaved Germans from their friends and relatives in the West. In some communities the sealed border runs right through a village. In one spot I visited, a town lies in the zone and the railroad station is in the Federal Republic and hence no longer of any use; for in order to go from the town to the station one would have to travel many miles to the one border crossing in that area and then, if the necessary papers were in order, one could cross and again travel back along the border to the station.

Yet the Soviet Zone is far more accessible than any other territory lying the other side of the Iron Curtain. A great number of Germans travel back and forth through the four crossing-points in order to visit relatives and friends. And this traffic is at present encouraged by the Soviets and their agents since they are trying to win the respect if not the affection of all Germans. They are trying particularly to convince the workingman that they are in the process of creating a

"workers' paradise" in their so-called Democratic Republic. Last summer buses were sent through one of the crossing-points to pick up children in border towns who were invited for a 3-week vacation at no expense in this "workers' paradise." And the camps where these youths were entertained—propaganda centers in fact—I have heard were extremely good. How lasting will be the effects of such exposure to Soviet Zone propaganda is an open question.

Soviet Formula for Reunification

Unless I am much mistaken, we are going to see many such efforts; more propaganda will flow from the East to the West. It will be claimed that the German Democratic Republic provides more opportunities for the worker and farmer, more cultural developments, and, above all, is working for peace and a unified Germany in contrast to the Government of the Federal Republic. One of the slogans that is painted on the walls of the official buildings of the Soviet sector of Berlin demands that "Germans sit around one table." This is the Soviets' formula for reunification; they demand that representatives of their puppet government meet with representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany and work out a formula for reunification. To anyone who knows the history of what happened in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and the other satellite countries it is quite clear what the real aims of such a conference would be. Such a meeting of Russian agents and free Germans could make no progress toward reunification in freedom; it could only serve to build up the prestige of the puppet government and thus be one step toward a kind of reunification that would be an extension of the Soviet system of tyranny well into the heart of Western Europe.

But the propaganda line embodied in the slogan "Germans around one table" has certain disadvantages from the Soviet point of view and, consequently, certain advantages for us in the free world which we should endeavor to make apparent. It means that the border crossing-points where Germans from the West can visit their relatives in the East and vice versa must be kept open by the Soviets. This in turn means that what goes on in the Soviet Zone of Germany is far more exposed to the view of the entire world than what goes on in such satellite countries as Poland or

Czechoslovakia. In other words the Iron Curtain in Germany is at a few points somewhat porous. This fact we must make the most of. It behooves us to follow very carefully all that transpires in the Soviet Zone and to direct world opinion to the shocking contrast between the Soviets' professed intentions and their actual deeds. For when one examines the true situation in the Soviet Zone, one encounters a record of brutal disregard of human rights which must shock all except those who are hardened by long years of exposure to Communist discipline.

Let me give you one example: Nearly a thousand Germans leave the Soviet Zone every day, mainly through Berlin, preferring to abandon all their worldly goods than to suffer longer their loss of liberty. This fact is in itself ample proof of the real situation in this so-called democratic land. Refugees are a double embarrassment to the Soviet henchmen. They regret to see their labor force diminished by the departure of able-bodied youth and they realize the refugees are clear evidence of the hate and mistrust with which the government is regarded by the people. As a consequence measures are being taken to check the flow. Recently two individuals were prosecuted for having allegedly advised some of their neighbors to migrate to the Federal Republic of Germany. These unfortunates were found guilty by an authoritarian court and condemned to death—condemned to die for the supposed crime of asking a fellow German to move from one city to another! The outcry from West Germany and from the free world seems to have shaken the authorities in East Berlin a bit, for the sentences have now been commuted to life. But even prison terms for such offenses, or the fact that the alleged advice was regarded as an offense, is hard to square with the slogan "Germans around one table!"

Soviet Zone—the Achilles Heel

The Soviet Zone then is to my mind the Achilles heel of the Soviet satellite system. We in the free world should take advantage of this fact. We should use every occasion to expose the fact that the Russians are exploiting this portion of the German population, and exploiting is the proper word. The living standards are low; the economy is arranged for the benefit of the Soviet system and not for the Germans who do the work; the uranium mines are being depleted; the youth are

being forcibly recruited for an army which will reinforce the other satellite contingents. Brutal sentences are still meted out; the tales of the refugees are tales of a terrorized population. How can this day-by-day behavior of the Soviets' agents in East Germany be squared with the present Soviet words about peace and friendly relations with the West? The simple answer is, it cannot. And this fact to my mind should be continually emphasized in every discussion of international problems. The conscience of the free world must be quickened to the injustice of a divided Germany.

Let me conclude by turning your attention once again to the city of Berlin. This city has stood out boldly against Russian threats for 10 years and more; today it is remarkably strong considering its past ordeals. But the future of Berlin is as a capital city of a reunited Germany. For the long run this is the only solution of the so-called Berlin problem, for the Western powers will certainly never desert the Berliners as long as they are in danger, which means as long as Germany is divided. The free Berliners, the three Western occupying powers, and the Federal Republic of Germany work closely together to support Berlin; we share the common task of preparing for the day when the present capital of the Federal Republic at Bonn will cease to exist and a new freely elected all-German government will take up its quarters in Berlin.

I have spoken of a new, freely elected, all-German government because the present Federal Republic of Germany is, by its own declaration, only a provisional, caretaker government. It is the only government today which can speak for all the German people, as it is the only freely elected government. Nevertheless, its competence is restricted by its own desires and in agreement with the three Western powers. Because it has not derived its mandate from the voters in the Soviet Zone as well as from those in the three former Western zones, it cannot speak for Germany in a discussion of such matters as the final boundaries of Germany and the terms of a peace treaty. These are affairs which must be left to an all-German government which can speak for all the German people. Therefore, today in talking about Germany we meet a paradoxical situation. We welcome the opportunity of cooperating on a most friendly basis with the German government

in Bonn, we look forward to its military contribution to the defense of the free world, but at the same time we hope for its replacement by an all-German government in Berlin.

We have a strong and reliable ally in the German people—of that I have not the slightest doubt. Those who can now speak for the free population speak in terms of a close alliance with the West. I have no fear that if the free world remains strong economically, politically, and militarily there will be any reversal of this policy. The peoples of the free European nations, of Great Britain, and of the United States are now united. In this unity there is strength. This strength constitutes a bulwark against further Soviet aggression. In the not too distant future I believe this strength, coupled with a continued exposure of the true conditions in the Soviet Zone, must bring about a reunification of Germany; and with that reunification will come hope for a more peaceful world.

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy: 84th Congress, 2d Session

Technical Assistance Programs. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Part 2, January 23, 1956. 35 pp.

Operation and Administration of the Cargo Preference Act. Hearings before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on Public Law 664, 83d Cong., 2d sess. January 31, February 1-16, 1956. 601 pp.

Operation of Article VII, NATO Status of Forces Treaty. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services to review, for the period December 1, 1954, to November 30, 1955, the operation of article VII of the agreement between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the status of their forces. February 9, 1956. 47 pp.

International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956. Hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on S. 3116 and S. 3172, bills to provide for the promotion and strengthening of international relations through cultural and athletic exchanges and participation in international fairs and festivals. February 21, 1956. 39 pp.

Regulation of Exports. Hearings before the House Committee on Banking and Currency on H. R. 9052. February 23, March 5 and 6, 1956. 182 pp.

Control and Reduction of Armaments. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations pursuant to S. Res. 93, 84th Cong. Part 2, February 29, 1956. 33 pp.

Reorganization of the Passport Office. Report to accompany S. 3340. S. Rept. 1605, March 1, 1956. 8 pp.

Joint Economic Report. Report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report on the January 1956 Economic Report of the President with supplemental and minority views and the economic outlook for 1956 prepared by the committee staff. S. Rept. 1606, March 1, 1956. 116 pp.

The Mutual Security Program for Europe

Statement by C. Burke Elbrick

*Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs*¹

Acting Secretary Hoover has already discussed with you the concepts underlying the mutual security program as a whole.² My purpose today is to discuss in somewhat more detail the aspects of the program that relate to the European area.

With relatively minor exceptions, the proposed mutual security program in Europe is devoted entirely to military defense. More specifically, it is primarily designed to maintain and strengthen the defensive power of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Apart from a minor technical exchange program, no economic aid, defense support, or other economic-type assistance is being proposed for any of the NATO countries covered by the European section of this legislation. Economic-type assistance is requested only for two non-NATO countries—Spain and Yugoslavia—which face unusual economic difficulties in connection with their defense efforts. A moderate sum is also requested to meet special circumstances connected with the maintenance of our vital position in West Berlin.

This program is being put forward at a time when the contest between the Communist bloc and the free world has entered a new phase. Mr. Hoover has already described the rather striking shift in Soviet strategy and tactics, which seems to involve a de-emphasis of military techniques of aggression in favor of a stepped-up campaign to spread Communist power and influence by non-military means. This change in tactics will have

significant implications for our policies throughout the world. Free nations will be required to give greater attention to erecting and maintaining adequate political, economic, and psychological defenses against communism, and to preserving the unity which the Soviet bloc is trying so hard to shatter. A large part of the mutual security program now proposed, as Mr. Hoover has pointed out, is designed to assist friendly nations of Asia, Africa, and South America in economic development. At the same time, we should not make the fatal error of assuming that we can now ignore the military potentialities of the Soviet bloc. The Soviet military threat is still with us and is likely to remain with us for a long time.

If we are correct in the supposition that the Soviet rulers have indeed become more reluctant to assume the suicidal risks of modern warfare, we have every reason to be pleased. American interests will be served by doing whatever we can to make sure that Soviet thinking continues along these lines. While we have no present grounds for believing that basic Soviet objectives have altered, nor for assuming that the struggle to check Communist political, economic, and psychological penetration is likely to be short or easy, I think we all agree that this kind of struggle is infinitely preferable to all-out military hostilities. Since the change in Soviet tactics has largely been induced by the growing strength and unity achieved under our collective security policies, it is imperative that these policies be continued without any modification of purpose or relaxation of effort.

However charming may be the smiles that adorn the faces of Soviet diplomats, however melodious may be the siren songs of Communist propaganda, and however tempting may be the economic bait

¹ Made before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Mar. 27.

² For President Eisenhower's message to the Congress on the mutual security program for 1957 and a statement by Under Secretary Hoover, see BULLETIN of Apr. 2, 1956, p. 545. For a statement by John B. Hollister, see *ibid.*, Apr. 9, 1956, p. 605.

which they are holding out to some of the less developed nations, we cannot ignore the hard fact that the Soviet Union and its satellites are maintaining enormous military capabilities. They have an overwhelming superiority in military manpower, and they are making rapid strides in developing their potential for nuclear warfare. They are also making other ominous technological advances. All told, they possess the capacity to launch a dangerous military attack at any time, either general or local. We have no assurance whatever that they will indefinitely refrain from military adventures, particularly if military weaknesses in neighboring nations should appear to offer them attractive opportunities for cheap conquests. So long as the Soviet rulers retain and increase their *capacity* for military aggression, we cannot afford to base U.S. policies on their announced *intentions*. We cannot gamble our very survival upon the mysterious mental processes of the men in the Kremlin.

Every Member of the Congress is already familiar with the size and cost of the national defense establishment which the U.S. is maintaining for the purpose of deterring aggression. But we recognized long ago that the preservation of security and peace is not a task for the United States alone. It is neither possible nor desirable that the burdens of free-world defense should be borne exclusively by the American soldier and American taxpayer. Therefore, it has been a major objective of our foreign policy to supplement and reinforce American defensive power by securing the cooperation of other free nations who share our determination to preserve peace and freedom and who are willing and able to contribute to the attainment of this objective. In brief, we have recognized that the only real security available to ourselves or to anyone else is collective security.

The free nations of Europe represent a most important source of support. The peoples of these nations are skilled in modern technology and are capable of developing and using modern weapons. They possess substantial industrial and economic resources. Because of their geographic position they are in a position to provide bases strategically situated for deterring or countering a Soviet attack. Most important of all, in my opinion, is the fact that these nations share our belief in freedom, our cultural and moral traditions, and our determination to make all reasonable sacrifices to assure peace. We have

therefore joined together with 14 nations in a common defense system, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Through this alliance, we are seeking to achieve an efficient combination and utilization of our individual resources in a manner that will increase the security of all.

Progress Under NATO

I have no hesitation in saying that NATO has been a highly successful undertaking. Within a relatively short period of time, the potential European contribution to international peace and security has been translated into actuality. We have faced many complex problems and difficulties, of course, and have many problems still ahead of us. When we look at the NATO program in the perspective of the past 7 years, however, we can see that remarkable progress has been made. This progress is reflected not only in the number of men under arms, the availability of weapons and equipment, the establishment of bases, the improvement of organization, training, and deployment, and similar advances of a strictly military nature, but also in the growth of general political cohesion. It is also noteworthy that the NATO defense buildup has been accomplished without producing an intolerable economic strain on any of the member governments. In fact, it has been accomplished during a period when the overall European economic position has been steadily improving.

On balance, 1955 has been a good year for NATO. Despite political difficulties encountered by certain governments and occasional disagreement among members of the alliance, the basic military operations of NATO have moved forward smoothly. These operations receive few headlines, since they are rarely spectacular. Once the major political and strategic decisions have been made, the day-to-day job of building, maintaining, and improving Western defenses has tended to become more routine and less exciting. But this job has lost none of its importance, and it is being done.

Probably the most notable event of 1955 was the final ratification of the Paris Agreement which restored sovereignty to the German Federal Republic and brought this great nation into the NATO family. The same agreements established the Western European Union, closely linked to NATO, to exercise special armament controls among the seven member countries. The signifi-

cance of this achievement goes beyond the addition to NATO of Germany's sizable military potential. Equally important was the fact that the Paris Agreements afford a new foundation for friendly and cooperative relations between France and Germany, which should do a great deal to consolidate the unity of the Atlantic community as a whole. It is not a coincidence that the radical transformation of Soviet tactics which paved the way for the two Geneva conferences began concurrently with the ratification of the Paris Agreements, thus affording a striking demonstration of the validity of our policies.

There have been other gratifying developments in the European area during 1955, some of which are only indirectly connected with the NATO program but all of which are intimately related to our overall policies of building strength and unity. One of the most important was the signing of the Austrian Treaty, after 8 years of wearisome negotiations with the Soviet Government. This treaty not only restored Austrian independence but had added significance as the first concrete indication of a change in Soviet tactics. It marked the first time since World War II that Soviet troops have taken a backward step.

Special attention is also being given to the political ties that bind the Atlantic allies. There were five NATO ministerial meetings during 1955, the largest number ever held in any one year. Three of these meetings were devoted primarily to general political consultation—to a broad exchange of views on international problems and individual attitudes toward these problems. I believe the consultations held before the two Geneva conferences, in particular, contributed materially to the solidarity of the Western governments in dealing with the issues considered at these conferences.

Soviet Efforts To Destroy Atlantic Alliance

It is no secret that the Soviet bloc is engaged in a major effort to divide and destroy the Atlantic alliance. The dissolution of NATO stands high on the Communist list of objectives, as demonstrated by their words and actions in nearly all recent international negotiations, including the summit conference. They are using every available means to stir up old rivalries and to magnify and exploit the minor differences that inevitably arise even among the closest allies. They are also seeking to delude members of the alliance into a relaxation of

their defense efforts, both military and nonmilitary, and to persuade them that neutrality offers a cheaper and more comfortable course than continued adherence to the Atlantic system.

It would be an excess of optimism to assume that these Communist maneuvers have no prospect of achieving results. There are differences among allies. There are pressures in allied countries, as in every democratic country, to relieve the taxpayers of some of the burdens of defense. There is a certain amount of neutralist sentiment in Western Europe. To some extent, all these things lend themselves to Communist exploitation. But in terms of the policies and actions of allied governments, it is noteworthy that the Soviet campaign of division and enticement has not yet produced any significant impact upon the solidarity of the Atlantic alliance. Not only did the three Western governments at Geneva maintain unshakable harmony on fundamental issues, but their general viewpoint was also supported by the other Atlantic partners. Nor have the new Soviet tactics yet caused any noticeable relaxation in allied defense efforts. The combined defense expenditures, for example, of the European NATO countries are expected to remain at approximately the same levels next year as this year.

European Integration

One very hopeful development in Europe is the revival of the movement toward political and economic integration among the European nations themselves. The Congress is already familiar with the successful establishment of supranational authority over the production and marketing of coal and steel. The movement received something of a setback when the plan for a European Defense Community failed to receive parliamentary approval, but is now showing new signs of life. Several eminent European statesmen are currently working on proposals for a multinational pooling of atomic power and also for further steps toward a broad common market. As you can understand, we are watching these efforts with the greatest interest and sympathy. There can be no doubt that the achievement of a closely integrated European community would tend to consolidate and strengthen the Atlantic alliance as a whole.

As Secretary Dulles has pointed out on more than one occasion, the most significant thing about

the Atlantic alliance is not so much what has happened as what has *not* happened. Before NATO began, we were harassed by a long series of crises in Europe, such as the Communist war in Greece, the Berlin blockade, the Czechoslovak coup, military threats against Norway and Turkey, and so forth. Since NATO came into being there have been no military hostilities of any kind in the European area and the Communists have not gained a single inch of additional territory. I think this speaks for itself.

In reciting the progress made through NATO, it is not my purpose to imply that all our difficulties have suddenly vanished. We will continue to face a great many problems. NATO is not the kind of operation that we can ever expect to wrap up and forget about. It requires constant attention and constant effort by all members of the alliance, including ourselves.

Maintenance of Military Defenses

The mutual security program proposed for fiscal year 1957 is directed toward two of NATO's most pressing and most continuous problems—the maintenance and the progressive modernization of its military defenses. Even the best military system cannot stand still. Weapons and equipment wear out or become obsolete, and military plans require constant revision. These problems have always existed, but they have been greatly magnified by the incredible sweep of modern technology. While our information about the rate of Soviet scientific and technical advancement is not as precise as we would like, we know enough to be certain that the continued value of free-world defense forces will depend largely upon our collective ability to maintain up-to-date equipment and facilities, to replace wornout or obsolete items, and to keep pace with the furious advances of science and technology.

Another current defense problem receiving NATO attention, of course, is the buildup of German military contingents. Since this buildup is beginning from scratch, many different things have to be done, ranging from the enactment of basic legislation to the actual recruitment, organization, equipment, and training of military forces. This process will necessarily be gradual, but steady progress is being made. The mutual security program recommended for fiscal year 1957 contains no additional funds for the German buildup, since

the currently planned U.S. contribution to this program has already been obligated from previous appropriations.

The military problems I have mentioned are now receiving intensive attention by NATO military planners. The Defense Ministers of all member countries, including Secretary of Defense Wilson, held a meeting in October to consider some of these problems, and a subsequent meeting of senior military authorities and the NATO commanders was completed in Paris around March 1. The central problem upon which both these meetings focused is the adaptation of the NATO defense system to the ever-changing requirements and techniques of modern warfare. This problem is gravely complicated by the limited financial resources available. While it is clear to all that this adaptation is essentially evolutionary and that no sudden and drastic displacement of either plans or machinery is in prospect, it is necessary that the process move forward with minimum delay.

Most of the funds requested for NATO during fiscal year 1957 fall under the heading of "maintenance." They will be used to service, repair, and replace facilities and equipment already produced and to provide training in the use of such equipment and facilities. Some of the funds, in addition, are designed to make more modern weapons and equipment available to our allies, with particular emphasis on the improvement of European air defenses and early warning systems.

Modernization of Military Defenses

There are approximately \$525 million in this program set aside for advanced weapons, of which \$195 million have already been planned for allocation to Europe. The value to the Europeans, both in military and in psychological terms, of acquiring guided missiles and more advanced types of aircraft and electronic equipment cannot be overestimated. Furthermore, it is to our own benefit that we make these more modern weapons available as a means of insuring that American troops in Europe will have at their side well-equipped forces equally able to mount an effective defense.

There is no question but that the Europeans have become increasingly concerned about the rapid changes in the technology of modern warfare and their limited ability to keep pace with the newer developments. Apart from the British and,

to a lesser extent, the French, our European allies do not have the resources necessary to devote to the large-scale research and development of new weapons. Consequently, most European countries are looking primarily to the United States to help them keep pace with the growing capabilities of the Soviet bloc forces. By sharing the newer weapons as they are developed and produced, we can make it possible for them to participate more effectively in the defense of Western Europe and thus to strengthen the deterrent power of the alliance.

Officials of the Department of Defense will be prepared to give you more detailed information about the projected use of these funds and the military purposes to be served. I will confine myself to a few general observations. First, I think it is obvious that the NATO alliance, one of the mainstays of our security, can be preserved over a long period of time only if our European partners remain convinced that it offers them real protection and that their own contributions to the common defense serve a useful purpose. This conviction, in turn, will depend upon a reasonable assurance that their defense efforts will actually be meaningful within the context of modern instruments and techniques of warfare. Our allies already know that there are certain key items that they cannot produce for themselves and cannot readily accumulate the dollars to buy. Unless they are able to secure, maintain, and replace these things, they will feel that a large part of what they are able to do for themselves would be waste effort.

European Contribution to Mutual Security

I want to emphasize the fact that the things our allies are doing for themselves add up to a very substantial total. Two years ago Secretary Dulles pointed out that our European allies were spending for defense purposes the equivalent of three dollars from their own budgets for every dollar's worth of aid received from the United States. A recent analysis by my staff indicates that these countries are now spending the equivalent of *six* dollars of their own money for each dollar of U.S. aid received. Their total defense expenditures last year came to more than \$12 billion, which is an altogether creditable showing for a group of nations whose combined gross national incomes add up to less than one-half of the U.S.

national income. These expenditures, together with the men they have placed under arms, the output of their factories and laboratories, and the bases they have provided, add substantially to the security of the United States as well as the security of Europe. It seems to me a matter of ordinary common sense—a sound business proposition, if you will—for the United States to continue providing certain weapons, equipment, and training which will multiply the effectiveness of these European efforts and produce more total defense than would otherwise be available.

This is the fundamental justification for the whole program. Without the program of the character and magnitude being requested, some of these countries would undoubtedly feel that they just couldn't accomplish enough to make their efforts and sacrifices worth while. Some would lack many key items of equipment and would face insuperable difficulties in trying to build balanced forces capable of effective action under modern conditions of warfare. The real defensive power produced by their own commitments of money and manpower would be greatly reduced and there would be almost irresistible temptation to reduce these commitments. The final result would be a drastic weakening of the whole Atlantic system. In terms of the total defensive power available to America and the free world, we would clearly lose more than we would save by not having this military assistance program being requested.

Please understand that I am not making gloomy predictions. On the contrary, I believe the general outlook in Europe is fairly bright. I only want to emphasize the fact that NATO represents a tremendous asset for the security of the entire free world, including our own country. We have already made a large investment in protecting and increasing the value of this asset. The program now being presented to you is designed to make certain that neither the investment nor the asset itself is lost.

Spain, Yugoslavia, Berlin

I mentioned earlier that a moderate portion of the assistance proposed for the European area in fiscal year 1957 is designed to provide economic-type support to certain non-NATO areas. The largest amount is proposed for support of the Spanish defense program. Spain's defense efforts are

closely related to the U.S.-Spanish agreements for the construction and joint use of a series of important strategic air and naval bases. Therefore, we have a considerable interest in the effectiveness of these efforts. We also recognize that Spain, which did not participate in the Marshall plan nor the early military defense assistance programs, faces unusual economic difficulties in carrying out its defense plans.

A smaller amount is proposed to support Yugoslav defense efforts. While Yugoslavia is not allied with the U.S., we have a definite interest in Yugoslavia's ability to maintain the independent position which it has achieved with great risk and sacrifice. Yugoslavia is the only country that has successfully broken away from the Soviet camp. The measure of this success is best illustrated by the fervent campaign which the Soviet rulers are now waging to entice Yugoslavia back into the Soviet spider's web. But the Yugoslavs know from experience what this means, and their nation stands today as a vivid reminder to the satellite areas that it is still possible for enslaved peoples to regain national existence. Yugoslavia is already spending a larger percentage of its national income for defense than any other country in free Europe, and the moderate assistance contemplated in this program is intended to help Yugoslavia continue to maintain this defense program without unbearable economic strain.

As in past years, we are also requesting special economic assistance for programs in West Berlin. The strategic and psychological importance of this key Western outpost is well known, especially to those Members of the Congress who have had an opportunity to visit the area. West Berlin will continue to face extraordinary economic difficulties because of its geographic position, and we are determined to provide all necessary support to alleviate these difficulties and assure West Berlin's survival.

In conclusion, I merely want to repeat my conviction that the European section of the proposed mutual security program represents a good investment in our own national security. It has paid off in the past and we have every reason to antici-

pate that it will pay handsome dividends in the future.

Appointments to Advisory Group on Refugee Relief Program

The Department of State announced on April 9 (press release 182) that George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Joseph Gimma, partner in the New York investment firm of Hornblower & Weeks, had been appointed to the Public Advisory Group of the Refugee Relief Program.¹ Mr. Meany will be the official representative of the AFL-CIO; Mr. Gimma will serve as a public member.

Other members of the group are:

- Msgr. Edward E. Swannstrom, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Chairman of the Refugee Relief Program Committee of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service
- Roland Elliott, Director, Immigration Services, Church World Service, First Vice Chairman of the Refugee Relief Program Committee of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service
- Miss Cordelia Cox, Lutheran Refugee Service, Second Vice Chairman of the Refugee Relief Program Committee of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service
- Arthur Greenleigh, Executive Director, United Hias Service, Inc.
- Dr. William S. Bernard, Executive Director, American Federation of International Institutes, Inc.
- Dr. Jan Papanek, President of the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Inc.
- Abram G. Becker, Executive Director, International Rescue Committee
- Walter H. Bieringer, Canton, Mass., Vice President, Plymouth Rubber Company, and Chairman of the Massachusetts Governor's Committee for Refugees
- Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton, Red Oak, Iowa, former Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration
- The Rev. Clyde N. Rogers, Columbus, Ohio, Ohio Council of Churches, and Chairman of the Ohio Governor's Committee for the Refugee Program
- Clark L. Brody, Lansing, Mich., Executive Vice President of the Michigan Farm Bureau

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Aug. 29, 1955, p. 363.

Hungary Accepts U.S. Offer of Emergency Food Aid

Press release 191 dated April 12

Under the President's authorization, an offer of emergency food aid to victims in Hungary of the effects of the recent European cold wave was presented to the Hungarian Government on February 23, 1956.¹ The offer was not accepted at that time. In view of the increasing severity of food conditions in that country and the consequent widespread hardships, it was renewed on March 23 by the American Minister to Hungary, Christian M. Ravndal.

The Hungarian Government informed Minister Ravndal on March 27 of its acceptance of the United States offer of food aid.

The U.S. Government is taking prompt steps, with the cooperation of the League of Red Cross Societies, to determine what existing need may be met under the emergency food-aid offer and to institute appropriate arrangements for carrying out such aid as soon as possible.

In undertaking this program, the U.S. Government is motivated by its friendly regard for the Hungarian people and by the traditional desire of the American people to alleviate suffering wherever it may occur.

Triangular Sales of Farm Products to Italy and Austria

The International Cooperation Administration announced on March 31 that it has arranged two "triangular" transactions involving sales of U.S. agricultural commodities to Italy and Austria. The local currencies generated by the sale of the agricultural commodities will finance the purchase of goods in Italy and Austria needed by other countries participating in the mutual security program.

Under agreements signed recently with Italy and Austria, each of the two nations will purchase up to \$5 million worth of agricultural commodities, paying for them in local currencies. The lira and schilling proceeds of the sales will be deposited to the account of the U.S. Government. ICA will make these funds available to countries where the United States has defense or economic

assistance programs which require commodities available in Italy and Austria. When purchases of such goods in Italy and Austria are agreed upon, they will be financed with the U.S.-owned lira and schilling funds and the "triangular" transaction will be completed.

Procurement authorizations for the agricultural commodities to be sold to Italy and Austria will be issued later by ICA.

The agreements with Italy and Austria were made under section 402 of the Mutual Security Act. This section requires that at least \$300 million of the funds authorized for the mutual security program during the current fiscal year be used to finance the sale of surplus U.S. agricultural commodities for foreign currencies. The local currency proceeds are to be used for mutual security purposes.

To date this year, more than \$200 million of these commodities have been authorized by ICA to more than a dozen countries.

U.S. Aid to Libya

Press release 184 dated April 9

In extended support of Libyan economic development projects, to which it has been contributing since 1954, the U.S. Government will grant Libya \$5 million from this fiscal year's mutual security funds. This is in addition to the \$12 million in aid which the United States has provided Libya since 1954.

The United States has also informed Libya that it will grant that country another 5,000 tons of relief grain, bringing the total help of this nature in fiscal year 1956 to 25,000 tons.

The Government of Libya has also been told that in fiscal year 1957 the U.S. Government would be prepared, subject to congressional authorization, to provide an additional \$7 million in economic development assistance, relief wheat as needed up to 25,000 tons, and the military equipment for expansion of the Libyan Army by an additional 1,000 men after a U.S. military survey team has determined the requirements.

On being informed of the U.S. decision outlined above, the Libyan Prime Minister stated publicly on April 7:

"While making with pleasure and satisfaction this announcement of American aid, I feel it is

¹ BULLETIN OF Mar. 5, 1956, p. 367.

my duty to emphasize the spirit of understanding shown by the American Government toward Libya's needs and the sincere collaboration extended for meeting them.

"In the name of the Libyan Government and people I extend my sincere thanks to the Government of the United States of America with our deep appreciation for their valued assistance which will not fail to have far-reaching effects on the progress of our country and on raising the standard of our people."

New ICA Loan to Turkey

A loan of \$25 million to Turkey was announced by the International Cooperation Administration on April 8. This brings the total of U.S. aid to Turkey during the 1956 fiscal year, including grants and a gift of emergency food supplies, to \$54,885,000. These funds are being used as follows:

- \$37.5 million, composed of the \$25 million loan and a grant of \$12.5 million, to finance the import of commodities such as alloys, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and spare parts for industrial, mining, agricultural, and highway equipment and vehicles.

- \$2 million in technical cooperation grants.

- \$14 million worth of emergency food supplies donated by the United States to stave off shortages resulting from recent floods, an earthquake, and a disastrous fire. The food includes 40,000 tons of wheat and quantities of butter, cheese, powdered milk, flour, and rice taken from U.S. agricultural reserves.

- \$1,385,000 as a grant to pay the costs of ocean transportation for the emergency food shipments.

The agreement covering the loan was signed for Turkey by Ambassador Haydar Gork. Signing for the United States was Samuel C. Waugh, president of the Export-Import Bank of Washington, which administers ICA loans.

In announcing the \$14 million gift of food supplies on March 26, ICA said that, since January, 25,000 tons of Turkey's grain supply had been distributed free to disaster victims; an additional free distribution was to be made during March and April. The wheat included in the U.S. gift

would be used to replenish Turkish stocks from which the free distribution was made.

The other gift foods from the United States—3,600 tons of powdered milk, 2,615 tons of butter, 2,615 tons of cheese, 1,000 tons of flour, and 250 tons of rice—will be distributed free to needy persons. The food is being supplied under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P. L. 480).

The new loan agreement brings total economic aid to Turkey since the United States began providing such assistance in 1947 to more than one-half billion dollars. The United States has been helping Turkey in its efforts to improve the standard of living of its people and, at the same time, to assume increasing responsibility for the support of its defense efforts.

The greater part of U.S. aid to Turkey has been directed toward such projects as development and improvement of transportation, communications and power facilities, mineral resources, and the increase of industrial capacity. Aid also has been given in various agricultural fields, including improvement of farm management.

In the field of technical cooperation, a recent major project has been assistance in helping Turkey establish a new university at Erzurum in the eastern part of the country. This project is being carried out under contract with the University of Nebraska. Emphasizing education in the agricultural sciences, the new institution has been named Ataturk University in honor of Turkey's first president, Kemal Ataturk.

Vice President of Brazil To Visit U.S.

The Department of State announced on April 13 (press release 196) that Vice President João Goulart of Brazil will visit the United States during the period April 30–May 17, 1956. The invitation was extended on behalf of the U.S. Government by Vice President Nixon during Mr. Nixon's recent trip to Brazil.

Mr. Goulart will be an official guest of the U.S. Government in Washington during the period April 30–May 3 and will stay at Blair House. He then expects to make a private tour of several major U.S. cities.

The Inter-American Partnership

by Milton S. Eisenhower¹

Three years ago, in this beautiful House of the Americas, President Eisenhower expressed his profound personal dedication to doing all he could to perfect the understanding and trust upon which the American community of nations must rest.

He stated also his desire to visit the other American Republics and know them better. Since he could not himself make a prolonged tour, he sent me as his personal representative to South America. Soon afterward he asked Vice President Nixon to make a similar good-will visit to Middle America.

I look upon my own tour of Latin America as one of the most rewarding experiences of my life. I had abundant opportunity to deepen my understanding of major problems in candid discussions with leaders of government, labor, business, agriculture, and cultural institutions. I observed and studied Latin America's remarkable achievements and thus came to appreciate Latin America's determination to be a mighty, progressive factor in the defense of freedom and the extension of peace. On the basis of a continental perspective developed on the trip I submitted, upon my return, numerous recommendations for strengthening hemispheric solidarity—recommendations which met with approval and were incorporated into United States policy.²

It is therefore with a renewal of the pride and pleasure I felt during the period of intensive work in 1953 that, again as the President's personal representative, I come here today to participate in these Pan American Day ceremonies.

¹ Address made at the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., on Pan American Day, Apr. 14 (OAS press release). Mr. Eisenhower spoke as the personal representative of the President.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 23, 1953, p. 695.

It is especially gratifying to be with you when the Council is honoring a distinguished fellow citizen who worked so diligently for hemispheric cooperation, Cordell Hull. For him, continuous cooperation among the Americas was a pilot project for all nations. Speaking of the inter-American system on this day 13 years ago, in this same House of the Americas, Secretary Hull declared that "the practice of equity is not a design for a hemisphere but is a *rule for living* in a free and peaceful world."³

Implicit in Mr. Hull's statement is a concept that is fundamental to the foreign policy of the United States as it applies to the other American Republics. It is the conviction that mutually helpful, friendly, and abiding relationships among all the American peoples are of transcendent importance and that these relationships do indeed afford a working model for the rest of mankind.

Historical Nature of Inter-American Cooperation

It is not especially remarkable that one of our Secretaries of State voiced this belief; but it is significant that our Secretaries have been saying it generation after generation. Whichever of our political parties has been in power, whoever has been the incumbent of the White House, whatever has been the state of world affairs, we have adhered firmly to the belief that on the hearth of the American family of nations must burn a steadfast flame to warm and illuminate mankind.

Our first Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, said, "We have the same object, the success of representative government. Nor are we acting for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race."

³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1943, p. 322.

Secretary Elihu Root, at the Third International Conference of American States in 1906, urged the American peoples to show the world that liberty is the twin sister of a just peace. "Let us unite," he urged, "in creating . . . and making effective an all-American public opinion whose power shall influence international wrong, [and] bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty."

In 1925 Secretary Charles Evans Hughes emphasized that hemispheric cooperation, while based on mutual self-interest of the American Republics, does not isolate our peoples from the rest of the world. On the contrary, he said, our hemispheric cooperation "in itself constitutes a most important contribution to world peace."

And only last year Secretary John Foster Dulles expressed this truth in another way here at the Pan American Union, saying: "This great inter-American system, which was first a vision and a dream and then an expression of faith, has become in our time the most solid international organization of free peoples on earth . . . beneficial to all mankind."⁴

Abiding Family Relationship

This persistent view of our Secretaries of State—that the family relationship among the American nations is of an abiding nature and is an example for all mankind—has long been shared by our Congress and our Chief Executives. Presidents Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower—all have been inspired by the power, the peaceful achievement, and growing potential of the inter-American fraternity of nations.

I have thought it worth while to emphasize the historical nature of our friendship and cooperation, for the overt propagandists and the covert subversives of today contend that ours is an ephemeral solidarity; that there does not really exist a solid basis for continuing harmony; and that our mask of pretension will one day be cast aside to reveal the real creature, the hostile imperialist. Nearly everyone in the Americas recognizes this kind of talk for what it is: a calculated, malicious misrepresentation to serve the purposes of a clever world conspiracy which holds our deepest spiritual convictions in contempt and

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1955, p. 728.

Solidarity of the Western Hemisphere

Press release 195 dated April 13

President Eisenhower has issued a proclamation¹ designating the period April 8-14 as Pan American Week, and Saturday, April 14, as Pan American Day. In his proclamation, the President calls attention to the fact that April 14 will mark the sixty-sixth anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union, the forerunner of the great inter-American system now known as the Organization of American States.

During the past year there have been many examples of the friendly cooperation and common purpose which has been traditionally a hallmark of United States relations with the countries of this hemisphere. Several friendly visits were exchanged by representatives of our respective governments. A number of important new agreements were signed looking to the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy in the Western Hemisphere and providing for mutual economic and technical assistance.

The efficacy and great moral influence of the peace machinery of the OAS were again demonstrated when it was used successfully to bring about a solution of a difficult situation which had arisen between two of our neighbor governments.

Further progress was made in the construction of the Inter-American Highway in Central America, which now is expected to be completed within 2 years.

The United States on its part was privileged to lend assistance in connection with the floods which struck in parts of Mexico and Honduras, and the pollo epidemic in Argentina. We ourselves received aid from several of our neighbor republics when floods and hurricanes hit our northeast coast in the summer of 1955.

The solidarity of the sister republics of this hemisphere is based on faith. First and foremost, it is faith in the institutions all are pledged to defend. Secondly, and equally, it is faith in one another. It is in such spirit that the governments and peoples of the 21 American Republics join together to celebrate this Pan American Week.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 2, 1956, p. 544.

which seeks, by coercion and subversion, to control the destiny of mankind.

Our cooperation not only has a proud, long history; it also possesses the assurance of a beneficial future. For it is grounded firmly on mutuality in our relations. As I stated in my report to my brother and his associates in the Federal Government, our solidarity is based, *first* upon a genuine understanding of one another—an understanding that permeates not only governments but also the

great masses of all our peoples. It is based, *second*, upon the closely related requisites of mutual respect and the sovereign equality of states. This is especially important in relations between large and small, powerful and weak nations, for nations, like people, have dignity and pride; only if each respects the rights, aspirations, cultures, sensibilities, and equal legal rights of the others can there be permanence in their friendship. Our cooperation is based upon *another* fundamental: mutual security. This is imperative in our threatened world. This concept, indeed, originated among the American family of nations and was formalized, as all know, in the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro of 1947. And the *other* great requisite for our continuing cooperation is firm adherence to common goals—the goals of peace, liberty, independence, rising levels of well-being, and the attainment of spiritual values.

But while we may be satisfied that the elements of our hemispheric unity are correct and firmly established, we recognize that much remains to be done, and no doubt always will remain to be done, if our unity is to yield the constructive results we all desire.

Fortunately, much has been accomplished in the past several years to improve relationships; especially has a great deal been done to improve mutual understanding and to strengthen economic cooperation.

Heightened U.S. Interest

Never has interest in my country in all phases of inter-American relations been so widespread as it is now. This heightened interest was no doubt caused to some extent by the anxiety our people felt for a time at the Communist threat that was so narrowly averted in one American nation.

But it is due also, I am sure, to an increasing awareness of our economic, political, military, and cultural interdependence; to the widespread publicity given to the inter-American conferences at Caracas, Rio, and Ciudad Trujillo; to the swift steps taken by the Organization of American States to settle quickly three serious disputes among member nations; to a tremendous increase in the exchange-of-persons programs, and to the modest additional support of American schools in Latin America; to the most welcome visits to the United States of the President of Uruguay, the

President of Guatemala, the President-elect of Brazil, the President of Mexico, and the Prime Minister of Canada; to the visits of our Vice President to Middle America and Brazil; and to the visits of our Assistant Secretary of State to every Republic of Latin America.

In addition to meetings at high official levels, genuine mutual understanding is being continually enhanced by the exchange of literally thousands of students, business and professional men and women, and a rising tide of tourists.

The United States Information Agency has expanded its programs of intellectual and cultural cooperation in Latin America. More books than ever before are being translated from Portuguese and Spanish into English, and vice versa. Latin American music has invaded the theaters, clubs, and homes of my country as a welcome retaliation for the infiltration of United States jive and rock-and-roll into every nook and corner of the Latin American Republics. And at this moment, exhibits of Argentinean, Chilean, Peruvian, Venezuelan, and Caribbean arts are being shown in many parts of the United States.

Most of all, however, mutual understanding is being increased through the growing volume of material in the press and on the radio and television; in every country of the American community our people are being exposed to information and ideas about all the other countries of the hemisphere.

Increased understanding and mutual respect, valuable in themselves, have also effectively strengthened economic cooperation—the real key to better relations among our countries and peoples.

Consistent Economic Programs

The most important recommendation I made in my report to the President nearly 3 years ago was that the United States adopt and adhere to trade policies with Latin America which possess stability and a minimum of mechanisms permitting the imposition of increased tariffs or quotas. I emphasized that real cooperation in this hemisphere can flow only from intelligent adherence to consistent economic programs, honorably and continuously observed.

I can proudly say today that both by congressional enactments and by firm policies established by the executive branch of the United States Gov-

ernment, greater stability has been infused into our trade, financial, and other economic relationships. Assurance of access to the great market of the United States, with a minimum of changes in the rules, is the most effective guaranty of economic stability in Latin America. Similar assurance that the other nations of this hemisphere can continue to buy much of our surplus production is an essential of economic prosperity in the United States.

In the last several years, too, the United States Government has recognized that public and private lending for sound development projects must go forward on a substantial scale. Production and productivity are increasing more rapidly in Latin America than anywhere else in the world. This advance creates an insatiable demand for capital.

We of the United States are placing greatest reliance, as we should, upon a flow of private capital for investment. That flow can be encouraged best by the Latin American nations themselves. Nonetheless, the United States has announced repeatedly in the last several years that it favors public loans to finance those sound projects for which private financing is not available. Indeed, we have assured all nations of Latin America that we will do everything we can to satisfy all applications for sound economic-development loans for which capital is not reasonably available either from private sources or from the International Bank. Both the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank, I am told, have ample funds to lend; indeed, they are prepared to process applications greatly in excess of those now on hand.

Since its creation in 1934, the Export-Import Bank has authorized loans totaling more than \$2,500,000,000. Some 20 months ago the Bank announced a new policy designed to expand its activities in Latin America. In the next full year, loans to Latin America increased by more than 500 percent to \$284,000,000, or 58 percent of the Bank's total loans. The Export-Import Bank can be counted on to continue to make important contributions to the economic development of this hemisphere.

Inter-American cooperation is developing programs of atomic energy for peaceful purposes—cooperation which may one day be recognized as a significant turning point in history. For nuclear science may bring productive energy to many nations which now suffer a serious deficiency

and which are constantly having difficulty with foreign exchange because of the imperative need to import oil, coal, and other fuels.

Truly impressive progress has been made on the construction of the Inter-American Highway; through greatly increased appropriations the United States is contributing a major share of the cost of what may soon become the most traveled artery of the Americas. Additional programs of technical assistance have been worked out in education, agriculture, public health, and related fields.

Many of our countries, the United States among them, have suffered in recent years from such natural disasters as floods, hurricanes, and epidemics of disease; all countries, including the United States, have received prompt and generous assistance from other American peoples. This aid has been, indeed, a persuasive demonstration of the heart of America.

It is a long story, this story of inter-American cooperation for better health, better education, better living conditions; for peace, for freedom, for order, and for independence.

It has been said, and justly said, that inter-American neighborliness is not only the policy of the American governments but also a state of mind of all our peoples. I am sure this is so. But while we have made traditional the practice of proclaiming this fact anew every year on Pan American Day, I believe all of us here would agree that this attitude must in fact guide our actions every day of every year.

Good Partners

So far as the United States is concerned, I think I may confidently say that our state of mind in this regard is better than ever before. The development is sufficient that we have had to find words to describe our thinking. We have gradually dropped the phrase "good neighbor" and have substituted, with sincerity, the phrase "good partner."

This signifies much more than a difference of words. It underscores a new approach to the problems we share.

As neighbors, each American Republic tried in the economic field to adopt policies and follow courses which would not prejudice the interests of the other members of the total community. Each sought in good faith to respond construc-

tively to requests for cooperation and assistance from others. In the United States the good-neighbor policy gave a new and meaningful direction to our hemispheric programs and relations.

That policy has logically carried us to the relationship that exists and must exist between us today—a relationship which is so close that it can no longer accurately be described as that of neighbors. So interdependent are our destinies today that each American Republic must recognize its direct, continuing, and even selfish interest in the solution of the critical problems of every other member of the family. We must now be dependable, honorable *partners* in a great and lasting enterprise—the peaceful independence, the prosperity, and the happiness of all our peoples—peoples with great and marvelous cultural diversity but with equally great and inescapable interdependent goals.

In the spirit of partnership we have in recent years made substantial progress toward better understanding and mutual respect, and improved political, military, and economic cooperation. That must give us all deep satisfaction. As I said in concluding my report on Latin America to President Eisenhower:

“Working together, the nations of this Hemisphere can, if history should so decree, stand firmly against any enemy in war, and prosper mightily together in times of peace.”

World Trade Week, 1956

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS it is the continuing desire of the people of the United States to strengthen our ties of friendship with all nations of the free world and to foster understanding and cooperation among them; and

WHEREAS international trade, travel, and investment make vital contributions to international stability and the mutual development of resources, security, and culture; and

WHEREAS the expansion of international social, cultural, and business relationships promotes the unity and solidarity of the nations of the free world; and

WHEREAS the national interest requires that we join with friendly nations in dealing with our trade problems on a cooperative basis:

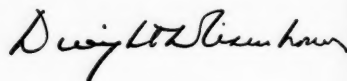
NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning May 20, 1956, as World Trade Week; and I request the appropriate officials of the Federal Gov-

ernment and of the several States, Territories, possessions, and municipalities of the United States to cooperate in the observance of that week.

I also urge business, labor, agricultural, educational, and civic groups, as well as people in the United States generally, to observe World Trade Week with gatherings, discussions, exhibits, ceremonies, and other appropriate activities designed to promote continuing awareness of the importance of world trade to our economy and our relations with other nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-fourth day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eightieth.



By the President:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
Secretary of State

Western Europe Cuts Curbs on Dollar-Area Imports

The International Cooperation Administration announced on March 28 that substantial progress in relaxing restrictions on imports into Western Europe from the dollar area had been reported that day by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. As of January 1, 1956, some 54 percent of all private imports by the 17 OEEC member countries from the United States and Canada, based on their dollar value, were free of quantitative restrictions. This compares with only 11 percent free of such restrictions at the beginning of 1953.

The progress report brought an expression of approval from John B. Hollister, Director of the International Cooperation Administration, who headed the U.S. delegation to the recent OEEC Council meeting at Paris.

“This report,” said Mr. Hollister, “constitutes positive evidence that Western European countries are following through on their commitment under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to remove restrictions on imports as their external financial position improves. The United States Government is pleased to note this progress in Western Europe.”

¹ No. 3130; 21 Fed. Reg. 1953.

On the whole, the level of liberalization has been higher for food and feedstuffs and for raw material than for manufactured goods.

For the first 9 months of 1955, member countries' total imports from the United States and Canada were 40 percent above those of the corresponding period in 1954, while their total imports from all sources showed a 15 percent rise.

The increase in dollar imports contributed to an enlargement of the trade deficit with the United States and Canada, since member country exports did not increase correspondingly. However, there was an overall increase in gold and dollar holdings in 1955 by more than \$800 million, due primarily to American military expenditures.

With regard to so-called "invisible" transactions, such as payments for services and warehousing charged for goods in international trade, returns on foreign investments, business travel, etc., the report indicates that liberalization with respect to the dollar area is more general and more extensive than in the case of commodity trade.

The OEEC report is entitled *Liberalization of Europe's Dollar Trade*. It is based on replies of member countries to a questionnaire, on documents relating to commercial policies, and on discussions between government representatives from the United States, Canada, and the Western European countries.

OEEC member countries are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. Canada and the United States are associate members.

Tariff Negotiations With Finland, France, Dominican Republic

Press release 194 dated April 12

The United States has concluded negotiations with the Dominican Republic, Finland, and France whereby these countries withdrew or modified under article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade a number of tariff concessions previously granted to the United States. Although no changes in U.S. tariff rates were involved, the negotiations permitted the United States to obtain new concessions from the three countries designed to offset the concessions with-

drawn or modified and to maintain the previous level of reciprocal concessions.

At specified but infrequent intervals and in accordance with established procedures, the contracting parties of the general agreement are permitted to withdraw or modify tariff concessions previously granted. These concessions are either reductions in tariff rates or agreements not to increase these rates. In such cases, the contracting party with whom the concession was originally negotiated or any other contracting party having a substantial trade interest in the concessionary item has the right to negotiate for new concessions with the objective of reestablishing the previous level of concessions.

In such negotiations a variety of factors is considered in assessing the compensatory concessions offered for those withdrawn or modified. The trade value of the products affected is one item. Another is the extent and severity of modifications and withdrawals contrasted with the probable trade-expansion potential of the compensatory concessions which might be granted. The existence and operation of quantitative restrictions may also be significant, as well as different methods of valuing the same product, i. e., whether as an import on the one hand or as an export on the other. An examination of all pertinent factors is, therefore, conducted before a new balance is struck in order to assure that compensatory offers in reality maintain the existing level of reciprocal concessions.

United States participation in these negotiations was guided by the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, the group which advises the President on trade agreement matters.

A summary of the principal changes involved in the present set of negotiations follows.¹

Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic modified three concessions made to the United States relating to paints and varnishes. With regard to varnishes, the modification consisted wholly in revising the Dominican tariff classification of this commodity, breaking up the previous "basket" item into a number of categories,

¹ For details, see Department of State publication 6324. Results of similar negotiations with 16 other countries will be found in Department of State publications 5881, 6001, 6201, and 6291.

without increasing the duty for any of the component parts. The paint and pigment category was similarly revised, but duties in this instance were, in general, increased. Imports by the Dominican Republic from the United States for this latter group of paints and pigments were \$559,000 in 1954.

To compensate for these increases, the Dominican Republic reduced concessionary rates already granted on six items and provided new concessions on five items. Imports from the United States of these 11 items by the Dominican Republic in 1954 amounted to \$543,000, of which the most important were cigarette tobacco and wheat semolina.

Finland. Finnish rates of duty on 17 items, directly negotiated with the United States, were increased and rebound at the higher rates. In 1954 Finland imported nearly \$600,000 of all of these items from the United States, the most important being certain varieties of fruit preserves and preparations, compressors and air pumps, and miscellaneous machinery and apparatus.

In return, Finland made concessions on 11 items. In four instances duties were reduced and rebound; in seven, concessions on new items were granted. Imports from the United States of these 11 items by Finland amounted to \$819,000 in 1954. Lubricating oils and tinned sheet iron and steel comprised the principal part of this trade.

France. Of the 14 tariff concessions modified by France, six were originally negotiated with the United States. All of these modifications increased French import duties. According to French statistics for 1953, the latest data supplied, imports of these items from the United States amounted to \$283,000, the preponderant part being unsweetened fruit and vegetable juices. United States trade data showed exports of \$238,000 for all 14 items to France in 1954.

As compensation, France reduced duties on four items and bound rates on two others. French statistics indicated imports of these items from the United States to be \$1,791,000 in 1953, most of them being fresh oranges. United States statistics for 1954 listed exports of \$466,000 for all of these items, fresh oranges again ranking as the principal item. As an additional concession, France agreed not to seek compensation for the United States withdrawal in August 1955 of its tariff concession on bicycles.

Continuation of Rate of Duty on Imports of Hatters' Fur

White House press release dated March 29

The President on March 29 concurred with the Tariff Commission's recent finding that no formal investigation should be instituted at this time to determine whether the tariff should be reduced on imports of hatters' fur.¹ The President found, with the Tariff Commission, that there is no sufficient reason at this time to reopen the escape-clause action which resulted in an increase of the duty on imports of hatters' fur. The President's decision means that the increased rate of duty established in 1952 as a result of escape-clause action will continue to apply without reduction or other modification.

The President's action was taken after the views of all interested departments and agencies of the executive branch had been received and studied. The Tariff Commission's report was made pursuant to Executive Order 10401, which requires periodic review of actions taken under the escape clause. It was transmitted to the President on February 6, 1956.

The tariff on hatters' fur was reduced as the result of trade agreement negotiations in 1935 and again in 1948. Effective February 9, 1952, the tariff on imports of hatters' fur was increased as the result of an escape-clause action to its present rate of 47½¢ per pound but not less than 15 percent nor more than 35 percent ad valorem.

The Tariff Commission's report constitutes its third periodic review of the escape-clause action taken on this product.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Inter-American Port and Harbor Conference

The Department of State announced on April 11 (press release 187) that the U.S. Government will be represented at the Inter-American Port and Harbor Conference, which will meet at San José, Costa Rica, April 25-May 6, 1956, by a

¹ Copies of the Tariff Commission's report may be obtained from the U.S. Tariff Commission, Washington 25, D.C.

delegation composed of the following representatives of U.S. Government agencies and of private groups concerned with port administration and maritime transportation:

Chairman

Charles P. Nolan, Officer in Charge, Transportation and Communications, Office of Regional American Affairs, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Howard J. Marsden, Chief, Division of Port Development, Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce

Advisers

Benjamin P. Clark, Commander, USCG, Chief, Port Security Section, United States Coast Guard, Department of the Treasury

J. Eugene Kennedy, Assistant Collector of Customs, Baltimore, Md., Department of the Treasury

George J. Leovy, American Merchant Marine Institute, New York, N.Y.

Robert E. Mayer, President, Pacific American Steamship Association, San Francisco, Calif.

Matthew C. O'Hearn, American Merchant Marine Institute, Washington, D.C.

Jerrold P. Turner, President, American Association of Port Authorities, Mobile, Ala.

The purpose of the meeting is to bring together qualified technical experts of the American Republics to discuss matters relating to port administration, port practices and regulations, terminal operation (including warehousing), cargo handling, cargo loss prevention, port congestion, port modernization, and free-trade zones.

Marshall Islanders' Petition on Nuclear Tests in Pacific

STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN GERIG¹

The United States delegation has just been informed by the Department of State that a petition concerning the forthcoming nuclear tests to be held at the Pacific Proving Grounds was received by the chairman of the Visiting Mission from the Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee.

In accordance with rule 84, paragraphs 1 and 2, the original was sent to the Secretary-General

¹ Made in the Trusteeship Council on Mar. 20 (U.S./U.N. press release 2371). Mr. Gerig is Deputy U.S. Representative in the Trusteeship Council.

and a copy to the United Nations Acting High Commissioner of the Pacific Trust Territory. We assume that the original has been or will shortly be received by the Secretary-General and will be made available to the Trusteeship Council.

The petitioners in effect reiterate their petition of April 20, 1954,² expressing the desire that the nuclear tests should cease or that, if considered necessary in the interest of world peace and security, should be conducted with all feasible precaution. I may say parenthetically that all such precautions are being taken.

Mr. President, we can all understand the feelings of these people, and we share with them the hope that a fully safeguarded disarmament program, including an "open sky" agreement, will be reached which will make such testing unnecessary. Although we have already discussed the essentials of this problem and although the petition raises no new questions, the United States delegation wishes to make clear that it is prepared to have the Council discuss the petition at the present session if it desires to do so.³

OBSERVATIONS OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT AS ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY¹

Nothing would please the Administering Authority more than to be able to comply with the wishes of the Marshallese people that nuclear tests be discontinued in their islands, but this is not yet possible. The Marshallese people can, however, be assured that the decision to hold further tests in these islands was considered a matter of such gravity that it was taken by President Eisenhower himself. Moreover, it was not taken until very careful and comprehensive studies were made that

² BULLETIN of June 7, 1954, p. 887.

³ On Mar. 29 the Council, by a vote of 9 to 4, approved the proposal of its Standing Committee on Petitions (U.N. doc. T/L. 649) that the Council draw to the petitioners' attention the observations of the Administering Authority; reaffirm its resolution of 1954; and recommend that all necessary measures should be taken "to guard against any possible dangers," "to settle forthwith all justified claims by the inhabitants of Bikini and Eniwetok relating to their temporary displacement" in connection with the earlier nuclear tests which were held in the Pacific Proving Grounds in 1954, and "to compensate the families which may have to be temporarily evacuated, for any losses which may result from further nuclear weapons tests."

⁴ U.N. doc. T/OBS.10/5 dated Mar. 26.

convinced him that there was at present no practicable alternative.

Under President Eisenhower's leadership, the United States is earnestly seeking, along with other Governments, a fully safeguarded disarmament agreement which would make such tests unnecessary. Until such an agreement has been reached and as long as there is the threat of aggression, elementary prudence requires the United States to continue its tests. It is the conviction of the United States that it has a responsibility not only to its people but to all the peoples of the free world to maintain at a maximum its capacity to deter aggression and preserve peace. Thus it believes that, under present circumstances, further tests are, in the words of the petitioners, "absolutely necessary for the eventual well being of all the people of this world".

The question remains as to whether such tests could not be conducted elsewhere than in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. An exhaustive examination of alternative sites in the United States and in other parts of the world was undertaken. The conclusion reached was that there was no other technically suitable site available to the United States where such complete safeguards against possible hazards could be taken.

Even after this conclusion was reached, there was no decision to hold further tests in the islands until a system of precautionary measures was worked out that gave convincing assurance that no human being, inhabitant of the Trust Territory or otherwise would be in any way endangered by the tests.

Thus the Administering Authority believes that, although the United States Government is regrettably unable to comply with the first request of the petitioners, so far as is humanly possible the authorities are complying with the second, namely that "all possible precautionary measures be taken before such weapons are exploded".

To begin with, a danger area has been established. The boundaries of this area and the date they become effective have been continually publicized since 1 March by all available means, not only in the Trust Territory but to all parts of the world. Every effort has been made to see that the people of the Trust Territory, as well as all other people, are aware well in advance that it will be dangerous to enter this area after 20 April. Such warnings alone will not be relied on. Elabo-

rate sea and air patrols before each test will be conducted to make sure that no vessel or aircraft has strayed into the area.

The Administering Authority would like to refer to the statement on 12 January 1956 of the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to the effect that

The forthcoming series of nuclear tests at the Eniwetok Proving Grounds, as announced today by the Commission and the Department of Defense, will involve weapons generally smaller in yield than those tested during the 1954 test series.

It is anticipated that the energy release of the largest test will be substantially below that of the maximum 1954 test.

The timing of all test shots will be governed by the judgement of weather experts assisted by new devices and techniques. The precautions that will be taken will ensure that "fallout" will occur only in the danger area, which does not include inhabited islands.

Among the steps that will be taken are the following:

1. Improved techniques will provide for more reliable weather predictions. The number of weather stations in the Pacific will be increased, aircraft will fly at high altitude to collect weather data and new type weather balloons and rockets will ascend to greater altitudes to gather weather data. Recently developed computers have mechanized most of the computational problems of predicting *fallout* patterns, permitting forecasts to be made much more rapidly than heretofore.

2. Following each detonation, aerial flights will be initiated to accomplish a quick radiological survey of the islands and surrounding seas.

3. There will be U.S. Air Weather Service and U.S. Public Health Service personnel present on sixteen islands for monitoring purposes. They will be equipped with adequate radiological monitoring devices and two-way radios. These islands are as follows: Rongerik, Tarawa, Wotho, Utirik, Majuro, Kusaie, Ujelang, Midway, Kwajalein, Iwo Jima, Guam, Johnson, Truk, Wake, Ponape, and Rongelap.

4. Radioactive clouds caused by the tests will be tracked by airplanes to check on their course.

In paragraph 2 (a) of their petition the Marshallese request that "all human beings and their valuable possessions be transported to safe distances first, before such explosions occur". It will not be necessary to evacuate any of the Marshallese

people from their present homes prior to the tests. It is fully expected that no evacuation will be called for during or after the tests, but in conformity with good planning complete plans have been prepared for emergency evacuation of the inhabitants.

In paragraph 2 (b) the petitioners request that "all the people living in this area be instructed in safety measures", and in paragraph 2 (d) they ask that "courses be taught to Marshallese Medical Practitioners and Health-Aides which will be useful in the detecting of and the circumventing of preventable dangers". These requests are being met in the following way: Scientific personnel who are trained radiological monitors equipped with radiation detection devices and two-way radios and fully acquainted with the necessary safety precautions will be stationed on the sixteen islands mentioned above. Medical doctors will also be in the area. Prior to and during the new series of tests training will be given to Marshallese medical practitioners and health aides in all necessary precautionary measures.

In paragraph 2 (c) the petitioners request that "adequate funds be set aside to pay for the possessions of the people in case they will have to be moved from their homes. This will include lands, houses and whatever possessions they cannot take with them, so that the unsatisfactory arrangements for the Bikinians and Enewetak people shall not be repeated." It is not anticipated that any of the inhabitants will have to be moved from their homes; however, should this prove necessary or should the inhabitants suffer any other hardship as a result of the tests, adequate funds as well as other facilities will be available to make appropriate compensation.

The United States is pleased to note the petitioners' opinion that the people of Rongelap, who were evacuated from their homes after the last tests, have been well cared for by the Administering Authority in their temporary location at Ejit. The United States Special Representative described in some detail to the sixteenth session of the Council⁶ the measures being taken to care for the displaced Rongelapese. He made clear that the Administration is at the same time acutely aware that these temporary arrangements do not provide a normal existence for these people. He indicated that it was the Administration's intention to re-

patriate them as soon as scientific surveys indicate that there will be no danger to the inhabitants in so doing. Several such surveys have been made, one very recently, and it is now hoped that this move can be made in the early autumn.

One of the most difficult questions referred to by the petitioners is that of the land claims in the Marshall Islands, including those of the people of Bikini and Eniwetok. It is true that in the complicated process of settling land claims in the Territory greater progress has been made in other districts than in the Marshall Islands District. This situation results from greater availability of land in these other areas than in the Marshalls. Recently, however, agreement has been reached within the United States Government on general terms under which compensation in the Marshalls and elsewhere will be possible. Administrative arrangements are now being worked out pursuant to this agreement in order to permit early satisfaction of the claims. It should be recalled, however, that both the Bikini and Eniwetok people have been relocated on other land that has been deeded to them and have been given considerable assistance in their resettlement and readjustment.

The Administering Authority deeply appreciates the friendly sentiments towards the United States expressed by the petitioners, all of them members of the Marshallese Congress. The Administering Authority hopes that, despite the hard decision that the United States Government has felt obliged to make, the other measures described will reassure them that the Administering Authority is exercising its trust with the highest possible sense of responsibility, conditioned only by its broader responsibility for world peace and security.

PETITION FROM MARSHALLESE CONGRESS HOLD-OVER COMMITTEE⁶

Letter From Sir John Macpherson⁷ to U.N. Secretary-General

Majuro, 11 March 1956

In accordance with rule 84 paragraph 1 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, I have the honour to transmit to you a communication dated 9 March 1956 from the Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee which was received by the Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories in the Pacific.

⁶ U.N. doc. T/PET. 10/29 dated Mar. 20.

⁷ Chairman of U.N. Visiting Mission.

⁸ BULLETIN of July 25, 1955, p. 153.

A copy of this communication has been transmitted to the Acting High Commissioner of the Trust Territory.

In transmitting the present communication to the Secretary-General, the Mission wishes to record the circumstances in which it was received.

On 8 March 1956, the Mission held a meeting at Majuro with the members of the Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee in the course of which a wide range of matters came under discussion. The Committee stated that the people of the Marshall Islands had been informed officially that further nuclear tests would take place in the near future in the Trust Territory. The Committee wished to go on record before the Visiting Mission that they reiterated the position they had taken when they presented their petition in April 1954, namely: (a) that nuclear explosion tests in the Marshalls be discontinued; (b) that if these experiments were absolutely necessary for the eventual well-being of all the people of the world and could not take place elsewhere, all measures enumerated in their petition (T/PET. 10/28) should be taken.

On the following day the Mission held a private meeting of its own to discuss several matters. During this meeting, doubts were expressed as to whether it was the intention of the Hold-Over Committee that their statement should be brought to the attention of the Trusteeship Council prior to the completion of the Visiting Mission's report. In order to clarify the situation, the Mission called in a representative of the Hold-Over Committee who stated that the Committee wished to have its views brought to the immediate attention of the Trusteeship Council and was prepared to put them in writing. On 10 March the Mission received the present communication.

The Mission also desires to record that during a discussion with him, the Acting High Commissioner informed the Mission that all possible precautions were being taken to ensure the safety and the well-being of the people in the vicinity of the test area.

It is requested that the present letter be transmitted to the members of the Trusteeship Council at the same time as the attached communication.

JOHN MACPHERSON

Text of Petition

March 9th, 1956

To: The United Nations Visiting Mission
From: The Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee
Subject: Re-iteration of the Marshallese people's petition to the United Nations, dated April 20th, 1954, regarding the explosion of lethal weapons within our home islands.

In view of the official announcement to the Marshallese people of the coming nuclear test in this area in the not too distant future, we, the members of the Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee and other interested leaders of our people re-iterate our petition of April 20th, 1954, which dealt with the explosion of lethal weapons within our home islands.

Our petition emphatically stated that:

1. All the experiments with lethal weapons within this area be immediately ceased.

2. If the experiments with said weapons should be judged absolutely necessary for the eventual well being of all the people of this world and cannot be stopped or changed to other areas due to the unavailability of other locations, we then submit the following suggestions:

(a) All possible precautionary measures be taken before such weapons are exploded. All human beings and their valuable possessions be transported to safe distances first, before such explosions occur.

(b) All the people living in this area be instructed in safety measures. The people of Rongelab would have avoided much danger if they had known not to drink the waters on their home island after the radio-active dusts had settled on them.

(c) Adequate funds be set aside to pay for the possessions of the people in case they will have to be moved from their homes. This will include lands, houses and whatever possessions they cannot take with them, so that the unsatisfactory arrangements for the Bikinians and Enewetak people shall not be repeated.

(d) Courses be taught to Marshallese Medical Practitioners and Health-Aides which will be useful in the detecting of and the circumventing of preventable dangers.

Our request Number 1 was not heeded, another test will soon be made. Request Number 2, to some degree, has been taken care of to the satisfaction of the Marshallese people. The Rongelab people are well subsisted and housed, and the medical care rendered them is excellent, yet, they are still on the small island of Ejit: but together with the Administering Authority, the responsible Rongelab leaders, and other Marshallese realize that long living in an abnormal existence is detrimental to their society. They were told that they will soon be going back to their home island, Rongelab, and with them, the other Marshallese are looking forward to the fulfillment of this promise.

Bikini and Enewetak, like all the other land claims in the Marshall Islands, have not been compensated for, or returned to the owners. We should like to repeat here that, "Land means a great deal to the Marshallese. It means more than just a place where you can plant your food crops and build your houses; or a place where you can bury your dead. It is the very life of the people. Take away their land and their spirits go also."

Therefore, we, the members of the Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee, who are empowered by the Marshallese Congress to act in its name when it is not in session and which is in turn a group of members representing all the municipalities in the Marshalls, due to the undiminishing threat to our life, liberty, happiness and possession of land, do hereby submit this document to the United Nations Visiting Mission with the request that they send this on to the United Nations Trusteeship Council as soon as possible, which with its knowledge of our great concern may then act on our urgent plea and take all steps within its power to help remedy the situation.

In closing, we, the members of the Marshallese Congress Hold-Over Committee want to make it very clear to

the United Nations Visiting Mission that this should not be interpreted as a reflection of the Trust Territory Government's deliberate ill-treatment of the Marshallese people or be misconstrued as a repudiation of the United States as our governing agency for the United Nations under the trusteeship Agreement, for aside from repeating our plea to have the nuclear tests within our home islands stopped as we are fearful of the danger these lethal weapons can and have inflicted on people living in the Marshalls, and the deep concern we have for the number of people who have been dispossessed of land, we have found the Administering Authority the most agreeable one we ever had.

Respectfully submitted,

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. KABUA KABUA | 7. HENRY SAMUEL |
| 2. ATLAN ANIEN (absent) | 8. JIBLOCK |
| 3. DWIGHT HEINE | 9. AISEIA DAVID |
| 4. ROBERT REIMERS | 10. AMATA KABUA |
| 5. C. DOMINICK | 11. LAZARUS SIMON (absent) |
| 6. NAMU ERMIS (absent) | 12. LAJIBILI (absent) |

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography

Security Council

- Letter Dated 21 January 1956 from the Minister of External Affairs of the Sudan Addressed to the Secretary-General Concerning the Application of the Sudan for Admission to Membership in the United Nations and Declaration Accepting Obligations Under the Charter. S/3543, January 30, 1956. 3 pp. mimeo.
- Letter Dated 10 February 1956 from the Representative of Saudi Arabia Addressed to the President of the Security Council. S/3548, February 10, 1956. 2 pp. mimeo.
- Letter Dated 6 March 1956 from the Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council. S/3554, March 7, 1956. 3 pp. mimeo.

General Assembly

- UNREF Executive Committee. Revised Plan of Operations (1956) (Submitted by the High Commissioner). A/AC.79/21, November 28, 1955. 131 pp. mimeo.
- Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories: Summary and Analysis of Information Transmitted Under Article 73e of the Charter. Report of the Secretary-General. Indian Ocean Territories. A/3107, December 22, 1955. 90 pp. mimeo.
- Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories: Summary and Analysis of Information Transmitted Under Article 73e of the Charter. Report of the Secretary-General. Asian Territories [Brunei, Federation of Malaya, Hong Kong, North Borneo, Sarawak, Singapore.] A/3108, February 15, 1956. 138 pp. mimeo.
- Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories: Summary and Analysis of Information Transmitted Under Article 73e of the Charter. Report of the Secretary-General. Central African Territories [Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland]. A/3109, January 16, 1956. 132 pp. mimeo.
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- Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories: Sum-

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- Application of the Sudan For Admission to Membership in the United Nations. Letters dated 21 and 12 January 1956 from the Minister of External Affairs of the Sudan addressed to the Secretary-General. A/3117, January 31, 1956. 3 pp. mimeo.

Economic and Social Council

- Rural Electrification. Propaganda (sales promotion) methods at present applied in the various countries. E/ECE/219, E/ECE/EP/177, November 1955. 48 pp. mimeo.
- Forced Labour. Report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the International Labour Office. E/2S15, December 15, 1955. 356 pp. mimeo.
- Commission on the Status of Women. Information Concerning the Status of Women in Trust Territories (Report by the Secretary-General). E/CN.6/273, January 10, 1956. 20 pp. mimeo.
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The Proposed Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs (The International Drug Convention). Views of Governments on (i) the procedure for amending the Single Convention, and (ii) the question of reservations. E/CN.7/308, January 17, 1956. 20 pp. mimeo.
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- Commission on the Status of Women. Technical Assistance: Summary of Selected Projects Affecting the Status of Women and Selected List of Materials. Memorandum by the Secretary-General. E/CN.6/274, January 24, 1956. 63 pp. mimeo.
- Commission on the Status of Women. Opportunities for Women in Handicrafts and Cottage Industries. Progress Report prepared by the International Labour Office. E/CN.6/282, January 26, 1956. 11 pp. mimeo.
- Report of the Eighth Session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to the Commission on Human Rights. New York, 3 to 20 January 1956. E/CN.4/721, E/CN.4/Sub.2/177, January 31, 1956. 71 pp. mimeo.
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- Commission on the Status of Women. Opportunities for Girls in Vocational and Technical Education. Report prepared jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and by the International Labour Organisation. E/CN.6/280, February 2, 1956. 101 pp. mimeo.
- Statistical Commission. General Conclusions Concerning Statistical Aspects of International Definition and Measurement of Levels of Living (Memorandum prepared by the Secretary-General). E/CN.3/214, February 2, 1956. 19 pp. mimeo.
- Statistical Commission. Observations Made by a Study Group on Measurement of Levels of Health, in Connection with International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living (Summary account prepared by the World Health Organization). E/CN.3/213/Add. 4, February 7, 1956. 4 pp. mimeo.

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- Slavery. Draft Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery: Report of the Committee Appointed by Resolution 564 (XIX). New York, 16 January to 6 February 1956. E/2824, February 15, 1956. 76 pp. mimeo.
- International Co-operation with respect to Water Resource Development. Report by the Secretary-General. E/2827, February 23, 1956. 43 pp. mimeo.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Bills of Lading

International convention for unification of certain rules relating to bills of lading, and protocol of signature. Done at Brussels August 25, 1924. Entered into force June 2, 1931. 51 Stat. 233.
Accession deposited: Turkey, July 4, 1955.

Cultural Property

Convention for protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, and regulations of execution. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954.¹
Ratifications deposited: San Marino, February 9, 1956; Burma, February 10, 1956.

Protocol for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954.²
Ratifications deposited: San Marino, February 9, 1956; Burma, February 10, 1956.

Genocide

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Done at Paris December 9, 1948. Entered into force January 12, 1951.²
Ratification deposited: Burma, March 14, 1956.

BILATERAL

Chile

Agreement providing an interim arrangement for certain transactions pending the entry into force of the surplus agricultural commodities agreement of March 13, 1956. Effected by exchange of notes at Santiago March 20 and 26, 1956. Entered into force March 26, 1956.

China

Agreement regarding passport visas and visa fees. Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei December 20, 1955, and February 20, 1956. Entered into force February 20, 1956.

Colombia

Agreement providing for disposition of equipment and materials furnished by the United States under the military assistance agreement of April 17, 1952 (TIAS 2496), and no longer required by Colombia. Effected by exchange of notes at Bogotá February 22 and March 14, 1956. Entered into force March 14, 1956.

France

Agreement relating to the grant of plots of land located in France for the creation of permanent military cemeteries or the construction of war memorials, with annexes. Signed at Paris March 19, 1956. Entered into force March 19, 1956.

Uruguay

General agreement for a program of technical cooperation. Signed at Montevideo March 23, 1956. Will enter into force on date Uruguay notifies the United States of its ratification.

Viet-Nam

Agreement providing for direct forces support pursuant to economic cooperation agreement of September 7, 1951 (TIAS 2346). Effected by exchange of notes at Saigon February 21 and March 7, 1955. Entered into force March 7, 1955.

Agreement relating to the disposition of equipment and materials furnished by the United States found surplus to the needs of the Vietnamese armed forces. Effected by exchange of notes at Saigon March 1 and May 10, 1955. Entered into force May 10, 1955.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

First Career Ambassadors Sworn In

In simultaneous ceremonies at Washington, The Hague, and Rio de Janeiro, the United States' first four Career Ambassadors took the oath of office on April 9. They are: James Clement Dunn, Ambassador to Brazil; Loy W. Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration; H. Freeman Matthews, Ambassador to the Netherlands; and Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State. All four are veteran career Foreign Service officers. (For biographic details, see press release 183 dated April 9.)

The class of career ambassador was created by Public Law 250, 84th Congress. Under the terms of the law, nominees for appointment to the class must have had at least 15 years of Government service in a position of responsibility, including at least 3 years as a career minister, and must have rendered exceptionally distinguished service to the Government.

Confirmations

The Senate on April 12 confirmed Lowell C. Pinkerton to be Ambassador to the Sudan.

¹ Not in force.

² Not in force for the United States.

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Releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Press release issued prior to April 9 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 178 of April 6.

No.	Date	Subject
182	4/9	Advisers on Refugee Relief Program.
183	4/9	Ceremonies for career ambassadors (rewrite).
184	4/9	U.S. aid to Libya.
185	4/9	Welcome to Spanish Foreign Minister.
186	4/10	Spanish-Moroccan declaration.
187	4/11	Inter-American Port and Harbor Conference (rewrite).
*188	4/11	Merchant nominated Ambassador to Canada.
*189	4/12	Mills sworn in as Ambassador to Afghanistan.
†190	4/12	<i>Foreign Relations</i> volume.
191	4/12	U.S. food aid offer to Hungary.
†192	4/12	Holland: "Ideological Aspects of the Communist Problem."
193	4/12	U.S.-Spanish communique.
194	4/12	Negotiations under GATT.
195	4/13	Pan American Day and Week.
196	4/13	Visit of Brazilian Vice President.
*197	4/13	Holland: "The Soviet Policy of Peaceful Coexistence."

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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Available in pamphlet form—two recent statements by Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs.

The United Nations: Some New Perspectives After Ten Years

This address before the National Press Club, January 13, 1956, assesses the implications for U.S. foreign policy of recent developments affecting the United Nations. Among its topics are the impact of the Bandung conference and the Geneva summit conference, the admission of new members to the United Nations, peaceful uses of atomic energy, disarmament, economic assistance to underdeveloped countries, and review of the United Nations Charter.

Publication 6047

10 cents

The Soviet Challenge and the United Nations

This address was made before the Annual Convention of the American Association of Junior Colleges at New York City, March 9, 1956. It deals with the new look in Soviet tactics which became manifest at the Geneva summit conference and was shown in the rewriting of some of the Stalinist dogma by the Soviet 20th Congress. The pamphlet discusses why Soviet tactics have changed, what the challenge of the new Soviet strategy means to the United Nations, and what colleges and universities can do about it. It emphasizes that study of the United Nations is of great importance in the teaching of international affairs, and examines facts and fallacies about the United Nations.

Publication 6310

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